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## MINISTER OF EDUCATION GEORGE MURRAY A POLITICAL PRISONER

In the fall of 1967 the imprisonment of Huey P. Newton began a new era of political prisoners. People went to prison during the "civil rights", "integration", and "equality" era from 1957, beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott, up to 1965 when the Watts revolt brought an abrupt end to the "civil rights" (whatever these two words meant) fight.

Although people were arrested during the civil rights era, many of the people who went to prison were kept there for a relatively short time. The people who went to prison, went to shake the conscience of America -- to make the racist look at themselves. Many people fitted the jails voluntarily, hoping to force America's racist, capitalist and imperialist system to accept Black people as equals. Whites used their feelings of guilt of being identified with the power structure. Blacks went to jail because of the power structure. Both, the whites and Blacks, said they wanted "freedom" and "equality" for Black people.

After the end of the civil rights era came the peace march era in which masses of people, mostly white, mobilized and marched in major cities across the country to show the racist, capitalist, and imperialist power structure of the country that they were against the genocidal war perpetrated against the Vietnamese people by imperialism. The peace march era was from 1965 to 1968. During this time many political prisoners were incarcerated by the U.S. military. There were young men from poor and oppressed background, who after entering the military, began to identify with the oppressed Vietnamese people. To mention a few, there were the Fort Hood Three -- all one Black, one Brown, and one White -- all from poor backgrounds who were made political prisoners for refusing to go to Vietnam and kill Vietnamese people for the Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America, Standard Oil, Douglas Aircraft and all the other racist, capitalist, imperialist monsters of this country. Lockman and Davis -- one Black and one White -- also refused to kill the oppressed people of Vietnam and were railroaded into the stockade at the Presidio. The stockade of the military establishment and the federal prisons, the "civil rights" era and the peace march era produced two distinct types of political prisoners.

There is now a third type of political prisoner -- people who have been imprisoned for the political theory that they have developed and put into practice. Huey P. Newton and George Murray exemplify this last type. They teach that all men have an inalienable right to self-determination -- the people have the right to determine their own political, economic, and social destinies. When Huey and George went forth to put this into practice, they informed the people that they had the right to defend themselves against all oppressors. Huey told the oppressed people that even the second amendment of this racist, capitalist, imperialist country was given people the right to bear arms. The white bourgeoisie who were into the constitution of 1787 were not thinking of Black people bearing arms at that time. So Huey and George became political prisoners for asking Black people to exercise their rights as granted by the second amendment. The racist power structure couldn't condone the thought of Black Panther Party.

On October 26, 1968 George Murray spoke in the Commons at San Francisco College and said that all students should defend themselves against racist teachers and administrators on and off campus. The press, which is of course controlled by the power structure, stated that George Murray told students to bring guns to school -- a bareface lie.

The election was near and Mickey Mouse Rattery and Pig Head Dumke needed a scapegoat to get some votes. Mickey Mouse Rattery named George Murray as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The two pig political aspirants suspended George Murray (without the consent of Smith, the president of SFSC) hoping the racist reactionary votes would come in like a landslide. Tricky Dickie won the election, but didn't want Pig Head Dumke, Mickey Mouse Rattery was defeated by a luckswarm politician named as Secretary. George was systematically used by racist politicians for their own ends.

Racist Altior and Pig Cahill had to find a way to put George in prison fast because he was developing as one of the most articulate spokesmen for oppressed people in the country. George

was on one year probation which to end in April, so the racists had to move fast. They tried to jail him for violation of probation for "inciting to riot" and "speaking at an illegal rally" on a warrant issued by Hayakawa, Attorney Charles Garry blew the judge. Mad Dog Axelrod, away, and they had to let George keep his freedom. The racist followed George everywhere. They had to put him for something before his probation was up.

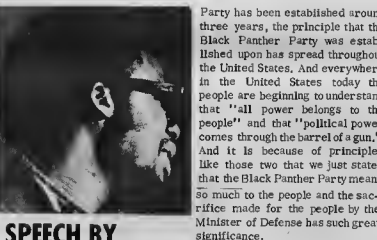
On a rainy night while George and another brother were driving on the Bayshore Freeway on their way to Palo Alto, they noticed a car following them. They saw that it was a Highway Patrol vehicle. When George and his friend turned off the freeway, a Sheriff's patrol car came off the ramp, made a "U" turn, and started following them. The pigs were playing cat and mouse. Suddenly eight pig patrol cars converged on George and his companion. They put their 357 magnums to George and his companion's heads and said, "If you move, we will blow your brains out." Another pig said that he saw George with a gun. The pigs had cuffed George and his friend and put them in a patrol car. While they were in the car, a highway patrol walked up with a gun saying he had found it in George's car. George had never seen the gun before. Either the pig planned it or merely made up the story about finding it.

Attorney Charles Garry cross-examined the pig who said he had found the gun in George's car, and the pig claimed that he had seen George with the gun before they vamped on him. Garry completely destroyed the legal validity of the pig's story, but that didn't matter as far as Axelrod was concerned. He had a reason to imprison George. Axelrod showed the people, by making an example of George Murray, that there is not such thing as a fair and impartial trial in this oppressive country. George Murray was jailed as a probation violator without a trial of any kind. George's crime was that he had a political theory that he put into practice and was influencing too many people.

George Murray could have been the kind of "negro" the racist wanted him to be. He could have been a successful "negro" who pulled himself up by his own bootstraps and all that typical American racist rhetoric. He was one of 14 children born in Mississippi, raised in the church, ordained a minister at a young age, earned a B.A. degree at a young age, and is at present only a few units shy of earning his masters. He could be working on his Ph.D., probably at Stanford, and teaching Shakespearean literature like a model "negro". George Murray was jailed to become what Huey P. Newton calls a dedicated revolutionist -- "an ox to be ridden by the people".

There may be many political prisoners in the future, but no matter how many George Murrays this oppressive government jails, it can never stop the people if the people put the principles of self-determination into practice.

Power to the People  
Terry Collins



## SPEECH BY THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION

(recorded at the Huey P. Newton  
Birthday Benefit Celebration, February 16, 1969)

It's difficult to come behind Baby 'D'. But if there's anyone who can approach coming behind Baby 'D', it's the next person on the program. And he is the person who is setting the pace nationally and internationally on the college campus. Because it was George Murray, the Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party who was given the inspiration and contributed much to the leadership of the Third World Liberation Movement on the campus of San Francisco State College and which has spread across the face of this country and across the face of this world. So I give you now, Minister of Education of the Black Panther Party, Mr. George Murray.

It's very good to be here with the brothers and sisters tonight. And it is a very happy occasion that we are here on. We were talking today earlier to some members of the Third World community in Sacramento. And we were talking about the sacrifice that the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton of the Black Panther Party, and the significance of that sacrifice to the movement in the United States. And we were marveling at the fact that although he

Party has been established around three years, the principle that the Black Panther Party was established upon has spread throughout the United States. And everywhere in the United States today the people are beginning to understand the movement. "All power belongs to the people" and that "political power comes through the barrel of a gun." And it is because of principles like those two that we just stated that the Black Panther Party means so much to the people and the sacrifice made for the people by the Minister of Defense has such great significance.

If we check out what has been happening in the United States within the last three years, then we will understand that the force that the movement has today began with the impetus that was given to the movement by the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton. And we do not have that much to say except that it is only necessary for us to follow the examples of the Minister of Defense; to follow the example of Alphonse "Buncho" Carter; to follow the example of Little Bobby Hurton; to follow the example of the Chairman of the Party, Bobby Seale; to follow the example of the Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. And if we do the things, then we will be a peoples' warrior. We do not need many speech makers today; but we need a people who will establish the principles, following the examples of the brothers that we just mentioned, along with other brothers who fought and gone down in the world.

It is absolutely necessary for everybody here to participate in making the revolution. It is not sufficient for, let's say, 10% of the people in the audience tonight to accept the principles upon which the Party is based. We need about 10% to carry it out. It is necessary for all of us to be peoples' warriors, because the situation that the people are involved in is one that is hellish. One that is totally destructive to the people. And it's up to us to change it.

The Minister of Defense has, as we said earlier, made every great sacrifice -- sacrificing his blood in the streets of West Oakland, sacrificing the most beautiful part of a person's life which has sometimes been called a person's "youth" for the people in the penitentiary. But we know that his sacrifice had been to great avail. It has meant very much to the people because the entire impetus for the movement, especially at San Francisco State, especially in the Bay Area, especially in California, especially throughout the country, the mark, the pace has been set by the Minister of Defense and the general membership of the Black Panther Party. And we must be very thankful to the Minister of Defense and to the Chairman, Bobby Seale for their courage to organize the people around such principles. Because it was 15 "crazy niggers" in North Oakland that stood up with the gun and saying that, "political power comes through the barrel of a gun" that spread that message throughout the western hemisphere, especially throughout the imperialist domains of North America. And it is up to each one of us here and everybody that we know to continue to wage the struggle. And it is in the interest of the consciousness of the struggle that this program was presented tonight.

The Minister of Defense said in the tape that was played here earlier that we must find excuses to come together as we have tonight in order to reassess each other of our solidarity and at the same time understand that we must be self-reliant. We cannot look to the National Liberation Front of Viet Nam or our Cuban brothers or the brothers that are fighting on the various fronts in Africa to wage the struggle and bring about the changes that have to be brought about here in the United States. It is up to us to make the revolution, to break the system, to smash it, shatter it, and destroy it. Another Lenin said, and to LIBERATE THE PEOPLE (applause). And this can only be done through actions based upon some of the principles that we chose to fight upon at San Francisco State, which we were taught about the Black Panther Party, those principles being:

-- a fight to the death to end "white supremacy" and racism,  
-- a fight to the death to make sure that all the peoples of the Third World, all human beings in the world have a right to determine their social, political, and economic, and political destiny,

-- and the third principle upon which we are fighting is the principle that was stated by the Minister of Information, Brother Eldridge Cleaver, when he said, "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE." If we fight on the basis of those three principles, then all the medicine, all of the wealth, all the natural resources, all the mansions, all the power will be returned to the people. And it's about time that we really start to continue to engage in the struggle. Tonight we must leave here with a new determination that we're going to resolutely follow the example of the Minister of Defense.

And therefore at this time we'd like to thank you, Brother Earl, the brother who is leading the chapter in Los Angeles, California where our Deputy Minister of Information and Deputy Minister of Defense were murdered. And this brother has stood up in the cultural nationalist jungle of Los Angeles to defy the cultural nationalists, the lackies, the black pigs of the power structure to let them know that the vanguard, the Black Panther Party is here to stay and we're going to lead the people in a victorious struggle. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE (applause).



Huey P. Newton and Attorney Charles Garry

## NO JUSTICE FOR BLACK PEOPLE

Thursday night in Berkeley, Charles Garry, Chief attorney for the Black Panther Party, addressed members of the A.C.L.U. and an all white audience.

Attorney Garry gave a very scintillating speech on Black Justice. Stating that Black Justice is the equivalent to no justice, Garry followed up by saying, "he was surprised that there weren't any people from the Black Community." He also mentioned that the judicial system in the United States was corrupt, and so long as white America sits by and allows it to happen, that Black people and other oppressed people could never have justice.

From listening to Garry it should have become very clear that the A.C.L.U. must begin to attack the Pig judicial system, that has proven case after case, the only justice in racist America

is for the Pig, by the Pig, and of the Pig. Eighty percent of the people that appear in court are minorities. Freedom is seldom granted. This is why point #8 states "We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails." We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial. And point #9 which reads, "We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States." We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution gives a man a right

to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being, tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community, or why the Black Panther Party exists. Did Huey Newton receive a fair trial?

You must begin to retaliate against the forces that are oppressing the people. Because Ronke Baby is not half-steppin!

Black people must begin to participate as jurors. What racist America fails to realize is that America is slowly crumbling at her feet, and that Black people will accelerate this process, be-

cause they're not asking for any more handouts, they're going after what belongs to them.

Garry told the people that these last 18 months have been the most frustrating in his illustrious 31 year career, dating back to 1938. Even Jocky Dylant's "Mr. Jones" could have understood what Garry was referring to. Obviously he was talking about the Black Panther Party and the constant harassment that they have received from the "Pig Power structure. And Huey P. Newton, whom Garry describes, "as the most lovable human being he has ever met." And how the Pig Power structure railroaded him to prison. And how the judiciary system moved against Eldridge Cleaver's constitutional right to due process of law and the presumption of innocence. Justice comes hard, "What are we going to do?"

## SID WALTON RESIGNS

Dr. Harold T. Santee, Supt. Palo Alto Unified School District 25 Churchill Avenue Palo Alto, California 94306

Dear Dr. Santee:

At the urging of the Black Community I came to Palo Alto with the belief that this community which nestles in the shadows of Stanford University was ready to develop a meaningful program designed to create multi-racial understanding and human interaction.

From the very beginning I have been honest with Palo Alto, and even though I have been condemned for my stand, at no time have I regretted that I said, "Free", and that I support the platform and program of the Black Panther Party.

It was my sincere hope to achieve the implementation of the Multi-cultural Activities Program by way of student and teacher involvement, community control, and administrative responsiveness. My own responsiveness to the urgings of the Black Community was strongly influenced by a statement in the QUET CRISIS distributed by the Palo Alto Mothers for Equal Education:

"In minority ghettos, the educational inadequacies of students are primarily academic and can be revealed by standardized tests. There are not yet tests to demonstrate the inadequacies of a white ghetto education, but they are there and THEY ARE IMPORTANT. We cannot wait twenty years to find that our children are too naive, too rigid, too tense with "different" people, too closed to new ideas, to make the transition to a changing world. California is the home of people of many cultures, and our children should be learning about all of them. But it is especially tragic, considering the nearness, size, and vitality of the Black community east of Bayshore, that we continue to be culturally isolated. We must find more east-of-Bayshore neighbors and cooperate with them in developing solutions NOW!"

Obviously, the statement does not reflect the attitude of Palo Alto as is evidenced by the fact that a local newspaper's editorial stated that I had been subjected to the "most sustained attack ever directed at a lone individual in Palo Alto public life." This fact coupled with anonymous threats upon my life and the actual attack upon my son on February 11, 1969 leaves me with the conclusion that much humanization must take place in Palo Alto, for without humanization there can be no integration. My goal is to work for the liberation of Black people from the oppressive conditions of a white-controlled society, and I believe that this can best be done WORKING WITHIN the Black Community to achieve DIRECT RESULTS rather than fighting white racism in the white community to achieve indirect results.

The Black Community feels that the guilt of Martin Luther King's assassination is wearing off and Palo Alto is "going back to business as usual." Thus, I have been urged to come back home to the Black Community. And in response to these urgings by the east-of-Bayshore Black Community, I feel that it is appropriate at this time to inform you that I am resigning from the position of Coordinator of Multi-cultural Activities effective June 30, 1969.

My work must continue where Palo Alto's humanity ends—east-of-Bayshore in the Black Community. To quote Martin Luther King, "Free at last, Free at last, Great God Almighty, I'm free at last!"

## Towards A New Unionism

This is an Introduction to a series of articles which will deal with Unionism in this country. Where it's been, where it's, where it must go. It is important to understand the economic exploitation as the basis for the political structure in a capitalist society. I will attempt to deal not only with the theory of Unionism, but will offer suggestions as to how this theory can be implemented.

This country needs a new kind of union, one that will maintain the virtues of the older unions but will take the lead in reacting to the problems that have arisen in the last 15 years. This new union would be as revolutionary and ready for struggle as the CIO unions in the days of its birth; and as rebellious and libertarian in spirit as the old IWW. Here are some of the things I might do to solve the problems that's plaguing the labor movement today:

It must orient itself toward an independent role in politics, serv-

ing as the focus for a REALIGNMENT to include the more militant unionists, the millions of people who would like to see a genuinely Indigenous LABOR-RADICAL coalition movement in this country. Such a union could enrich its inner life, raising the political, intellectual and cultural levels of its membership, rooting out all traces of racial prejudice and fiercely guarding its democratic tradition. What is most disturbing about the current situation in Labor and what constitutes the greatest possible source of bureaucratic malformation is that, there is no significant opposition to the leadership, REVOLUTION NOT EVOLUTION. The people must organize caucuses inside their union, and take over their leadership by winning its elections, THAT IS PRACTICE.

Kenny Horston  
Director  
Black Panther Caucus,  
U.A.W.

## Dick Gregory Loses Appeal

Dick Gregory, Black comedian and civil rights leader, lost an appeal to the Supreme Court today challenging his conviction in a Chicago street sit-in demonstration.

Mr. Gregory contended that he had been tried illegally because a juror who had said she did not "believe in demonstrations" and that they "do not have a proper place in our society" had been allowed to participate.

Mr. Gregory was convicted of resisting a peace officer and of other charges in April, 1966, and sentenced to five months in prison and a \$1,400 fine. The sentence was postponed for his appeal.

The high court made no comment in refusing to hear Mr. Gregory's case.

The comedian-writer was one of about 300 people who sat down at the intersection of Balbo and Columbus streets in Chicago on the afternoon of June 11, 1965, stopping traffic.

The Appellate Court of Illinois, ruling against Mr. Gregory last May, said he had kicked and bitten policemen who had told him to get up.





I Was just trying to be BLACK !!

## 'THOUGHTS FOR NEGROES'

Negroes dwell at the doors of death, and we speak the truth to move them to the doors of peace and freedom. Yet they have no faith. They refuse to believe in us. Can't they also see what is taking place? Are they so tricked by the ways of racism, that they see racism in us? Why don't they hear what we speak in their own ears, without learning of our philosophy, from means set up by the racist system. From a system, that will twist what we say to make our words, deeds, and acts, continue to make you fear us. We know you live among whites and find that they are not all racist. Then you hear your white friends, categorize participants in the Black liberation struggle, as Anti-Whites, because of fear put into them so they will help to promote racism in this country, to support it to the end.

The Militants, or the People's Army and supporters of Black Freedom are not Anti-White but Anti-Racism. Nixon, Humphrey, Wallace, Reagan, and their likes are our enemies, not your neighbors who are non-racist. (N.H.W.R. and their likes). They are fighting among themselves, without ethics, pride, dignity, or fair play. Like animals fighting to gain the most highest office in this land. And you look at us like animals because we want to change this madness, not only to make America a better place to live, but also to end the mass murder of Black people.

Every hungry person in the world should not be hungry. Every person should not have to live in poverty, wear rags, or be forced by their basic needs to be slaves to another man.

The racist tells you to take birth control pills to kill, to murder

life that might have existed if you had not. Yet you do not see the real truth, a very sad real truth. They argue that it is wicked or cruel to allow a child birth when you cannot support it, and give it all the luxuries of life, or enough opportunity to gain happiness for himself or herself.

You, the poor people jump at this bait of death, accepting the philosophy. Yet is that the reason why you take the pill? I think not, I believe the pill is taken, for sexual freedom to some, sexual escalation, and sexual protection. Some take it because they are drowning in bile, because the kids are becoming too rebellious, but few, very take it because of thoughts of the unborn child.

These reasons the racist throws upon you, bears examining. Why do you feel the need for sexual freedom, escalation and pro-

tection. Why are you drowning in bile? Why are your kids becoming so rebellious every new generation? I'll tell you why, because of the ways of racism. They are planning mass extermination of planning mass extermination of people they consider despicable.

They will not only succeed in their plot but make money on top of that it something isn't done, and soon, Negroes and Blacks alike, along with other poor people are losing their usefulness to the racist system, in this system we have always been forced by the need of labor to do the racist's bidding, and labor with our hands, never with our minds never with our beautiful Black minds.

Haven't you negroes, poor and well off, noticed how machines is taking the place of hundreds of laborers who labor for means of survival who can no longer

survive when there is no labor. For that is all that they know. What good then are they to society unless they retrain themselves. And many will not be able to retrain and they will lost. Many will retrain to find their present training made obsolete. By a new machine.

The slaves who have tolled the fields of mankind throughout the pages of history are no longer needed, these slaves were Black. They are to the racist obsolete, a burden, to their society and to their system.

In their eyes some people must go, America is becoming too populated, so who must go? Too many people on welfare, so who must go? Too many people committing crimes, so who must go? Who my ass!! We are the who, who must go! and you too negro!

By Van Keys  
East Oakland Branch

## Black Families in White America

Reviewed by  
Melvin D. Newton

BLACK FAMILIES IN WHITE AMERICA is a definitive sociological work which describes the varying structures of Black families, as they existed in Africa (enjoying a state of equilibrium) through their unbelievable survival in hostile, racist America. The author, using a systemic approach examines Black families in relationship to various major institutions, none of which show positive systemic linkage which supports or encourages the existence of Black families. In order to give the reader a true perspective of the Black family, the author explores the history of Black families. With the presentation of this history, it is possible for the reader to appreciate the trauma of forced removal from Africa and interjection into the perverse life of America. Rather than (as often has been the case with sociologists) depict

Black families as examples of social disorganization, the author delineates the marked resilience of Black families along with their ability to survive under unprecedented disorganized conditions. The ability of the family to arrange and rearrange its structural units in order to survive is shown as evidence of flexibility of organization rather than a social disorganization. Contrary to conclusions that the family evidences a dysfunctional state if the father (who can't find work) leaves in order to qualify the family for financial assistance, Billingsley points out that this may be evidence of "concern for the welfare of their children." This is functional. As a final note, I wish to commend the author for his statement that "the major problem facing Negro people is not stability, as such, but the ability to survive while being placed in a white society." What has enabled the Black family to survive is its flexibility.

## 'SQUALOR' IN BLACK COMMUNITIES

"Squalor" is a word that people associate with places such as South Africa, Vietnam, Central and South America. "Squalor" is a word that is also prevalent in the Black community.

The existing conditions in the Black community are such that no human being should be subjected to looking at them, much less living in them.

The great American dream can be more visibly defined as the great American fallacy or hypocrisy. A great exemplification of this is the modern day tragedy taking place at 2148-56 W. Jackson in Chicago, where 53 people manage to eke out a meager existence. The conditions under which these Black people live is one of the greatest atrocities perpetrated on mankind. The building these Black people are forced to live in,

(and I say forced because they are unable to afford anything else) is rat infested, lacking heat and water, no electric lighting, toilets that can be flung, broken windows, and sheer filth and decadence in the halls.

Everytime we pick up a newspaper or turn on the television, we look at "tricky Dick" Nixon or Lyncheon "Beans" Johnson bragging about the wealth of this racist society. Yet, all this poverty exists, not just in Chicago, but all over this country, predominantly in the Black communities. Yet, the "pig power structure" can send three billion dollars up in the sky to look at the moon and spend millions upon millions of dollars in Vietnam, conducting genocide on our brothers of color over there. And to think that this same pigish establishment can't give Black

people decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings, which is point #4 of the Black Panther Party's Ten-Point Platform and Program, is unbelievable.

The irony of the situation is that the establishment politicians, when running for office, come into these same Black communities with a lot of repetitious rhetoric on how they are going to improve Black people's conditions and they will give their vote to the aforementioned politician.

How long are we going to tolerate this absurd nonsense? When are we going to organize with a true revolutionary perspective? Time is of the essence. The time for organization is NOW. So ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE, BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE, and PANTHER POWER TO THE VAN-GUARD, "Right On!"

# Berkeley Gets Beating, But Not Beaten Yet

by Paul Glusman  
LIBERATION News Service

BERKELEY (LNS) — Thirty-seven people were arrested and a large number injured in the heaviest day so far in the Berkeley Third World strike.

On Thursday, Feb. 13, after a large rally, student strikers set up a picket line at Sather Gate on the campus completely encircling a smaller informational line set up by the Teaching Assistants union (AFT 1570).

Highway patrolmen and sheriffs deputies moved back the larger line, leaving the AFT line untouched. The AFT line was then encircled and all 17 persons on it were arrested.

Later police charged into student crowds and made random arrests. Clifford Vaughns, a black reporter for a Los Angeles radio station, was severely beaten by sheriff's deputies. After his arrest, he was again beaten in the police station. He is now hospitalized and being held on \$3,500 bail, charged with assault on an officer. Several students were injured; one had all of his teeth knocked out. One Sheriff's deputy was later surrounded and beaten by students. Most arrestees are being held on charges of obstructing pedestrian traffic.

The AFT is now certainly going to strike because its peaceful picket line was broken, and it will probably be given strike sanction by the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

On Feb. 14, faculty members set up an informational picket line, the first pro-strike activity by faculty since the strike began three weeks ago. The campus is totally occupied by police and is being run from Sacramento by Ronald Reagan through Alameda County Sheriff Frank Madigan, Chancellor Rogers Heyns has been bypassed and publicly criticized by the Governor for his indecisiveness in the early stages of the strike.

Strike support has grown. Friday's line was one of the largest since the strike began, despite a heavy rain.

I agree that a man is innocent until proven guilty, but once the guilty is reasonably established, as it is in this case, I want justice by way of the "so-called" due process of law.

I want justice meted out just as rapidly as it would have been if this had been a Black man who was WITNESSED beating a 49-year old white child.

I don't want the machinery to slow down when it's a white man in a white community who is guilty of beating a 9-year old Black child.

District Attorney Alex Singleton on Thursday, February 13, 1969, at "child" child, refused to file my complaint against the white coward Milton Stocking who can beat a nine-year old child yet fears confronting the child's father.

Singleton in the style of a racist Mississippi D.A., coldly stated that he "didn't think there was sufficient cause to file a complaint." He can tell that to his mama because I'm not buying it.

Singleton further stated, "I think this is a case that deserves more investigation," and he implied that my attorney should do the investigating.

Singleton is seemingly responding to racist-ite involvement of

2 or possibly 3 administrators who are attempting to cover up and confuse the facts of this case with irrelevant side-issues having no bearing on the fact that MILTON STOCKING ATTACKED AND BEAT MY 9-YEAR OLD SON, KEVIN WALTON ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1969.

Deal with that Fact! Answer these questions:

1) What does the system of "so-called Justice in Palo Alto do to a white adult who stops his car on the street, gets out and proceeds to beat a 9-year old Black child?

2) Why wasn't child attacker Milton Stocking arrested Tuesday February 11, 1969?

3) Why is a child beater allowed to roam the streets of Palo Alto?

4) Why must school children have their safety in danger because of the continued freedom of this child beater who struck free into the heart of an 18-year old male youth and terrified a little 5-year old girl who witnessed the beating?

5) Will Mississippi style justice prevail in Palo Alto, California?

Parents who have children in schools where Milton Stocking works should keep their children home until the man is apprehended. The streets of Palo Alto are not safe for children until Milton Stocking is brought before the bar of justice!

Right now, I feel that the establishment in Palo Alto is just as racist as Mississippi.

If you want to know what I'll do ask yourself what you would do if it was your child; add the dehumanizing oppression of Black people by white people to that; be a man and you'll know what I'm going to do if Milton Stocking isn't brought before the bar of justice. I will not tolerate Mississippi style justice in Palo Alto when my son is involved.

The establishment is trying to cover up for Stocking with lies as told by Los Alamos Police Chief Roland Renshaw in Wednesday's Palo Alto Times (February 12, 1969).

If you want the facts and statements of what I said I will provide you with copies of a statement that I mailed to both Departments and I have yet to receive any response. This was sent in early December 1968.

For further information contact: Attorney Harry B. Bremond 801 Welch Road, Palo Alto, Calif. 327-4881

## LA. College Blasts May Be Linked

Los Angeles

A bomb that exploded at a south Los Angeles college may have been connected to blasts at two of the Claremont colleges that injured a young secretary. A sheriff's deputy said yesterday.

The deputy said the time bomb went off in a classroom at Southwest College Wednesday night was nearly identical to two that exploded within minutes of each other Tuesday at Scripps and Pomona Colleges, two of the associated colleges at Claremont.

The injured secretary, Mary Ann Keatley, 20, lost two fingers and may lose her eyesight.

Members of the Black Students Union at the Associated Colleges of Claremont who were into bid, attended the incident, returned to classes yesterday.

Dr. Mark H. Curtis, Provost of the colleges, said the Black students had been in "hiding" with our assistance" because of the fear "there might be retaliation."



## STUDENTS AND WORKERS JOIN

The Richmond Police are continuing their efforts to break the strike of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Local 1-561, against the Standard Oil Company of Calif. The Standard refinery in Richmond has been the scene of continued harassment of union pickets by police since the strike began early in January.

The latest incidents occurred on Wednesday, Feb. 19th, when over 200 Bay Area students, mostly from S.F., State and U.C. Berkeley, joined the OCAW picket lines under the mutual aid pact that has been established between the striking oil workers and the striking students and teachers in the Bay Area.

About 8:15 A.M., Mrs. Anna Moore, wife of a striking oil worker, after doing picket duty, was returning to her car with her 21 year old son, Mike Moore. A Richmond police officer rushed up, grabbed Mrs. Moore by the arm, twisting it so hard that it hurt back, that he broke off half her fingernail. Mike Moore was struck over the head by the policeman when he protested the treatment of his mother. Mrs. Moore was rushed to Broodside emergency treatment for a badly sprained arm and her son was treated for a large welt on his head.

Mr. Al Moore, on the picket line at the time, heard about the brutality used against his family and asked Sgt. Ledford, Richmond Police Force, who had formerly been a fellow union member, to help. Moore at Standard, why this had been done. The Sargent said that the police couldn't tell the dif-

ference between the workers and "the others". (Meaning the students). It is doubtful that Mrs. Moore, who has a 21 year old son, could have been mistaken for a student from S.F., State or Berkeley. This can only mean that the Richmond police force has been acting under a more powerful influence in Richmond and has orders to treat oil workers and their families as police have been treating the students at S.F., State and U.C. Berkeley.

At 6:30 AM on the same day, Feb. 19th, Robert Avadian, a student and Terry Turnquist, member of Local 1-561, OCAW, were making a phone call from a PUBLIC phone booth at the Standard Service Station near the Freeway and Castro. Standard Oil Fire Marshall, Roy Kralman, of 5839 Sherwood Forest Drive, El Sobrante, Telephone 223-3336, pointed out Avadian and Turnquist to the Richmond police, who pulled them from the phone booth, pushed them up against the car, smashed Avadian's knuckles with a club, and arrested them.

Bob Avadian was booked under Richmond Penal Code 594.148 resisting arrest. He was released on \$440.00 bail. Terry Turnquist was a problem because the police had nothing to book him on. However, being very resourceful at this type of think, the Police came up with a charge. He was booked on penal code 11.240.10. For those who don't know, this is a rarely used law which covers the illegal possession of a stingstop. The "sting-shor" was supposed to have been found

under the back seat of the car in which Turnquist was driving. He does not own the car. His bail was \$315.00. Break the union and break the heads of the union workers seems to be the aim of the "law and order forces of Richmond."

In another incident Wednesday, the police broke up a mass picket line at Gate 31 of the Standard refinery. Just as the police were ready to move in the shortwave radio in the union headquarters that is used to monitor police calls picked up the following message to the police at Gate 31, "The longshoremen are coming, cool it!" The longshoremen, Local 10, ILWU were greeted with the song, "Solidarity Forever," as they pulled off the bus.

This is not the first time the police have backed down from a confrontation with the longshoremen who are supporting the oil workers.

On Tuesday, Feb. 18th, a picket line of oil workers in Martinez was being worked over by the police. A call went into the OCAW 1-561 for help. The police thought it was a call to the ILWU and when the cars of workers, wearing red helmets and carrying sturdy picket signs drove up, the police were violently shaken and withdrew their attack.

A spokesman for the Richmond Local 1-561 said that the solidarity that has developed around the oil strike is "the beginning of the dawn of labor's old traditions of solidarity with everyone who is fighting for social justice."





## WHITE REPRESSION AND BLACK RESPONSE

The Mississippi power structure and elements of the Federal Government appear to be joining hands in an all-out effort to crush Black militancy in Jackson, Mississippi. But Blacks have responded with increased militance and resistance to white racism and Uncle Tom opposition. At the present time, activity centers around the Georgetown community in the city of Jackson and the Tougaloo College campus near Jackson.

Howard Spencer, Director of the Jackson Human Rights Project and the Black and Proud Liberation School in the Georgetown community, has been consistently harassed by groups of white identifi-

fying themselves as F.B.I. agents. The attacks on Spencer came to a head with a frame-up marijuana and concealed weapon charge which may carry a five-year prison sentence for him.

Residents of the Georgetown community, other Black Jacksonians and parents whose children attend the Black and Proud School moved to defend Spencer and the Human Rights Project. The Georgetown Defense Committee has conducted an intensive political education program to alert other Blacks to the frame-up nature of Spencer's arrest. The Black parents carried out the program in the face of threats and

intimidations by the Jackson Police Department.

The Jackson Police responded by adding 50 extra patrolmen and 49 new vehicles to patrol Jackson's Black communities. Mayor Allen Thompson stated on Jackson T.V. that the police force was increased to stop mounting crime. He cited three recent incidents of Black men accused of raping white women—the traditional excuse for Kluge Klux Klan lynchings.

The community, with the help of Spencer, Black activist Muhammad Kenyatta and others, has kept the Black and Proud School operating in spite of bomb threats. Muhammad Kenyatta (formerly

Donald Jackson) teaches Black History to students 10 through 14 years old.

Kenyatta has also been active in Black awareness projects all over the city of Jackson and at near-by Tougaloo College, Tougaloo College, which has a history of white liberal teachers and administrators controlling an all-Black student body, has been the scene of frequent protests over recent years. Last semester, the Tougaloo Freshman class boycotted classes, demonstrated and threatened to burn down a white faculty members' office. The boycott and protests came after the college refused freshman demands for a Black-oriented Social Science curriculum and more Black professors. Kenyatta and other students from all classes joined the freshman's fight which ended in a partial victory with curriculum charges. Recently an unexplained fire gutted a part of the same building that students had earlier threatened. The building houses mostly white faculty and offices for white administrators.

Now, Tougaloo students are organizing and agitating for a complete Black studies program that would be controlled and taught by Blacks and lead to a Bachelor Degree in African and Afro-American Studies. On February 6, one-third of the student body plus curricula from the Georgetown Community joined together at a rally in Tougaloo to hear Spencer, Kenyatta, militant Black professor Charles Jones plus student leaders, James Reed and Joseph Frye, conduct a teach-in on the need for a Black Studies Program.

Quickly, the forces of racism and their Negro lackeys moved to suppress this growing student unity. A primary target is Kenyatta. Last week, while visiting a friend on campus, Kenyatta was the literal target of mysterious gun-fire that blasted through the front windows of his automobile, missing his head by inches.

Later the shooting was explained by Tougaloo's Negro President, Owens and others as a response to an attempted robbery of the men's dormitory. Afterwards, a college official, Dean Holloway, charged Kenyatta with attempted burglary before a white Mississippi Judge in Madison County—a county whose judges are infamous for their automatic decisions against Black people and civil rights workers since the voter registration movement of the early 1960's.

James Reed and other Tougaloo student activists are campaigning now to have the case brought before the student body and to have Kenyatta judged by other Black people. Kenyatta has turned himself over to the local authorities voluntarily as "an expression of my belief that my innocence will be proved."

Many people believe that Spencer's arrest and Kenyatta's arrest are linked to their Black awareness activities on the campus and in the community. The belief is that white authorities and police agents with the help of Negro toms are trying to create the false impression that Black Power militants are criminal thugs and to promote hostility between Blacks.

Other signs of F.B.I. style intrigue are a series of anonymous letters sent to Tougaloo students. One note attempted to slander Spencer. Other notes have threatened the lives of two students and have been obvious efforts to incite another attempt on Kenyatta's life.

But Black-oriented activity continues in spite of arrests, intimidation and near-killings. Blacks are responding by setting up defense mechanisms of all kinds, at all levels. Howard Spencer and the Jackson Human Rights Project continues its program of community organization and education for Black liberation.

## PANTHER POWER OVER PIG POWER

It is ironic to even have to write an article such as this, however, it is necessary. This article exposes the true nature of this racist, decadent society, because it is based on fact.

The Black Panther Party received a telephone call from a Black woman February 19th. The woman told the Party that she had no food, medical aid, or money. The woman, Mrs. Eddie Mae Mitchell lives in East Oakland. The following in a statement made by Mrs. Mitchell and the statement of a Panther that was sent to investigate the complaint.

Mrs. Mitchell is a widow with four children. Her children range from thirteen thru seventeen. She lives from the benefits of her husband's death claim. The youngest of her children is confined to a wheel chair, and the only food he can digest is baby food. The most nutritious food he is allowed

to have is milk because of his physical condition. Mrs. Mitchell said he requires special medical care. It was obvious to the investigating Panther that he was not getting it.

Mrs. Mitchell told the Investigating Panther that she receives \$50.00 per month, from this sum she pays \$70.00 rent. She also has to pay utilities, buy food, clothes, and medicine for the youngest child. When asked more about her younger son, Mrs. Mitchell said that the only thing the pig power structure wants to give her is a new wheel-chair. They could care less whether he ever walks or not. Before she could even get the chair, her doctor would have to see the pig power structure down town so the pig could rest assured that they were not being cheated out of anything. In addition to this absurd situation, the child was receiving no medical

attention what so ever.

Prior to her husband's death Mrs. Mitchell received \$218.00 per month from the Pig Welfare Department. Mrs. Mitchell's health was very poor, she needed dental care very badly but could not afford it. There was no food in the house in spite of bomb threats.

The Black Panther Party went forth and gave the sister food for her and her hungry children. The sister was advised as to what doctor to go to for medical aid (free of charge) for her and her family. This is only one case where a Black family is denied life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The Black Panther Party is dealing with this shit and serving the people.

The investigating Panther stated, "You should have seen how the little brother's and sister's faces lit up when they saw the Vanguard come through the door."



## THIRD WORLD COLLEGES BEWARE OF. .

The recent flurry of Third World struggles on campuses across the United States contains within it the seeds of both quantitative and qualitative change in the Movement. A major blow is being struck against the racist power structure by the actions and politics of Third World militants. Despite desperate attempts by the ruling class to divide minority groups -- to encourage Black to fight Brown, Brown to fight Yellow -- the new coalition is finding itself strengthened. Each racial group has its own distinct problems, yet in some way people have come to realize the existence of shared interests.

Whites, as members of the most favored RACIAL group in this country, face their own distinct problems and the question arises as to whether Third World people and whites can also find common ground for struggle.

As long as the university system has existed in white-controlled countries we have had what can legitimately be called a WHITE ETHNIC STUDIES PROGRAM. We did not have to fight to attain it -- it was ours to begin with. White poetry, history, art psychology, etc. were and are our standard courses. And yet, white American college students have continually been engaged in often sharp struggles against the system. Whites are the majority racial group and yet significant segments

of the white population, including students, have felt compelled to struggle against the State.

The fight to gain Third World colleges is one which most white radicals and even "moderates" support. At S.F. State the Struggle has been especially intense with both Third World and white students at Berkeley may be called upon to make similar efforts. White students are engaged in these struggles because they too feel exploited and suppressed. It is the most severe contradiction for white students that they are trained at the university to become exploiters in their own right. White working class students are trained to become the same types of bosses who oppress their mothers and fathers, the same types of teachers whose main function is to channel creativity into the interests of imperialism. The white college student is a "thing" to be shaped into an effective tool of the state with which the state can continue its business of wrenching profits from the people (especially the super-exploited Third World people).

When Third World students have won this present battle and gain their rights on campus, when Black students can study Black poetry and Black history, when Chicano can study their culture at the university level, the fight will have only yet begun. Of what good is

a Black Studies Program if it is used only to encourage Black Capitalism? The State will grant these programs eventually and try to use them, as they do all of education, to produce new exploiters of the people.

When some taxpayer writes to the newspaper complaining that his tax dollars for education are being misused -- that students are wasting his hard earned money in rioting -- he almost has a point. His tax dollars ARE being misused, not by the students but by the State. He is being forced to spend money to train people to exploit him.

From my privileged enclave in the white community I see two distinct and opposing trends in the Third World struggles (and please excuse me if I oversimplify). The first trend is Nationalism. Implicit in Nationalism is the assumption that if a person belongs to a Third World minority race he is a brother. Nationalism makes little distinction between the Black Capitalist and the Black worker, between a Black chief of police and a Black prisoner. A current example of Nationalism (which seeks to divide rather than to unify) is the ridiculous implication by Assemblyman John J. Miller (CHRONICLE, Feb. 8) that radical white students are responsible for the current unwillingness of Reagan to grant Black Students' demands. The fascist Nationalism of

Karenga's US organization needs little comment. Karenga is a "Brother" only to the pigs. The second trend in the Third World movement is the emphasis on the common interests of those people at any particular level of society. It is an emphasis on class.

The movement toward class unity distinguishes between the exploiter and the exploited. It smashes the attempts of the power structure to encourage racism. It is responsible for the recent declarations of support from groups like the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union in Richmond.

When demands for Third World Colleges and education have been won the fight will continue. It will continue because the university is an arm of the State. The State will not relinquish control of the university (grant it autonomy) because the State depends upon the educational structure to continue to produce millions of willing servants of imperialism. Our common purpose must not be to try to separate the university from the state, but to create a state which we control and which we support.

When we have a state which serves the people then we will have universities which serve the people also. Power to the People.

John E. Poole  
1627 Oregon St.  
Berkeley

The following persons are expelled from the Black Panther Party by executive order of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party and are thereby classified as Counter-Revolutionaries.

1. Oleander Harrison
2. Gregory Harrison
3. Fred Smith
4. Larry Powell
5. Jean Powell
6. Linda Boston
7. Harvey McClindon
8. Betty Carter
9. Janice Garrett
10. Terry Cotton
11. Edward Laguy
12. Fendell Lewis
13. Terry Finley
14. Jimmy Charlie
15. Gerold Grant
16. John Saterwhite (Sack)
17. Pat Brown Stark
18. Gilbert Gibson
19. Maudie Gibson
20. Richard Anderson
21. Rayford Bullard
22. Richard Linyard

The following persons are expelled from the Black Panther Party by executive order of the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party. They are thereby classified as renegades and are not to be allowed to enter any of the Chapters or Branches of the Black Panther Party anywhere. Nor are they to be associated with by any member in good standing with the Black Panther Party.

1. Tommy Jones
2. Reggie Forte
3. Bill Brent
4. John L. Scott
5. Mattie Lee
6. Ronnie Pennywell
7. Terry Clarity
8. Wendell Wade

## UNPRECEDENTED SHARPENING CLASS CONTRADICTIONS AT HOME

The repeated and serious defeats of U.S. imperialism's policy of aggression and expansion abroad have greatly deepened the domestic crises confronting U.S. ruling circles. As class contradictions in the country have sharpened to an unprecedented extent and the revolutionary consciousness of the masses rapidly rises, the trend of an all-round upsurge of the American people's struggle has now appeared. All this has placed U.S. imperialism under heavy fire both within the country and abroad and made it difficult for U.S. imperialism to cope with this situation.

The struggle of the Black people in the United States was sparked by a new fighting spirit in the U.S. imperialists' assassination of Martin Luther King. The waves of their struggle swept 168 cities and towns, including Washington, the heart of U.S. imperialism. The Afro-Americans have showed undaunted fighting spirit in their struggle and their political consciousness is rising steadily. They have fiercely opposed the reactionary role of U.S. imperialism at home. Reviewing the Afro-American

can struggle in 1968, True magazine said in dismay: "Nowhere was protest more prevalent or potent than in the United States."

An Afro American struggle against racial oppression broke out in Jacksonville, Florida, on January 24, this year. Though it was temporarily suppressed by the reactionary authorities, it indicates that a more profound Afro-American struggle on a larger scale for freedom and emancipation is brewing.

In the meantime, the strike struggle of the American workers has developed vigorously. The number of strikes in 1968, 4,950 in all, was the highest in 15 years, bringing about the biggest loss in work hours since 1959. The beginning of this year witnessed a big strike of more than 60,000 oil workers followed by that of 18,000 aircraft machinists. The 75,000 dockers along the east coast and the Gulf of Mexico persisted in their strike for over a month. This strike has already inflicted a loss of over 500 million dollars on the monopoly capitalist class, which howled in alarm that the

strike "poses a critical danger" to the U.S. economy and urged the newly inaugurated Nixon "to do his utmost" to crush the strike. The continuous strike struggle by the U.S. workers is not only hitting U.S. imperialism hard economically, it is also hitting hard at its policy of aggression abroad.

The student movement and the youth movement against the war of aggression in Vietnam have also developed in depth and rolled forward in continuous waves. Progressive students of San Francisco State College in California have persisted in their struggle against racial discrimination and the decadent bourgeois educational system for nearly three months now. Progressive student struggles have also broken out in the University of California, San Fernando Valley State College, East Los Angeles College, Sacramento State College and Southwest College in California, as well as in Brandeis University (Massachusetts), the University of Chicago, Swarthmore College (near Philadelphia) and Queens College (New York).

**ALL POWER  
TO THE  
PEOPLE**

## FROM THE HUGGINS FAMILY

23 February 1969

We wish to thank you for the strength and sincerity you have shown us at a time when it was needed most. John was, from early childhood, a humanitarian -- a peaceful, dedicated person. It hurts us most that men like John, Bureley, Hues, Eldridge, and countless others are stifled and muted at the peak of their meaningful lives. We find solace in the fact that you will continue to fight for the liberation of Black People and all oppressed people in this country and in the world.

John will live on in the hearts and minds of us all and the Black Panther Party will remain a living link to him. The impact of his commitment has touched many people and has made them aware of their lack of involvement. Our struggle is a long, hard one and we will do our best to help. As John said:

"Raise the battle cry: Intensity"

All power to the people,  
The Huggins Family



## Mao Tse-Tungs Thoughts Guide Surgeons In Severed Arm

Surgeons in a small city in Southwest China have reattached the severed arm of a teenage Red Guard. Now, nine months after the operation, the boy can lift a weight of seven kilograms, use chopsticks and tie his shoe laces, using the arm.

This is one of the achievements of China in surgery after the joining of a severed hand, done for the first time in the world in Shanghai in 1963.

On May 4, 1967, a middle school Red Guard, messing around with a truck engine which was being repaired, had his left arm completely severed about one third of the way above the elbow.

He was rushed to a small hospital. The young surgeons there had no experience in reattaching severed limbs. It would have been correct to sterilize the stump of the severed arm and dress it. But the political consciousness of the surgeons had been heightened in the cultural revolution. They were determined to emulate Norman Bethune's spirit of "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" and his "boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people." They decided to do all in their power to rejoin the arm for the boy, a Red Guard, a successor to the revolutionary cause.

This was a very difficult task. The patient's arm had been mangled. The open ends were very irregular and the forearm had some fractures.

The surgeons drew inspiration from Chairman Mao's three constantly read articles ("Serve the People," "In Memory of Norman Bethune" and "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains"), which breath the spirit

of complete dedication to the people's interests. In "In Memory of Norman Bethune" Chairman Mao says, "We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him."

The young surgeons knew they lacked certain equipment and experience, but they worked out ways to overcome their difficulties. To prevent infection the doctors and nurses laid down strict rules for both the operation and convalescence.

Trimming the ends of the bones and rejoining them went smooth-

ly. The key question was rejoining the brachial artery and the nerves and veins. Here, great skill was required. After the failure of several first attempts, the surgeons became anxious. According to world surgical literature, the chances of success were small, if the blood flow was interrupted for more than six to eight hours. The surgeons pooled their knowledge and were able to rejoin the artery within five hours of the injury. Then the nerves and veins were also rejoined. The whole operation took six hours.

After the operation one of the chief surgeons lived in the ward with the patient for days, to give him constant medical attention. The nurses attended the boy day and night.

In the course of recovery, the boy was given massage and other treatment to restore the arm's functioning. It is gradually recovering its sensitivity to cold and heat.

After his recovery, the Red Guard, Wei Tingfu, said: "Chairman Mao! Your brilliant thought guided the hearts and hands of the surgeons in rejoining my arm."

By Wei Ping



## PARIS PEACE TALKS

"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY" PARIS, FEB. 24 -- North Vietnamese sources said today that Hanoi's delegation to the United States protest against attacks on South Vietnamese cities.

If the United States presented

such a protest, the sources declared, it would be advised to take up the matter, if at all, with the delegation of the National Liberation front of South Vietnam -- the Vietcong.

A French spokesman declared that "the Vietnamese people will not allow itself to be intimidated" by

threats of retaliation from the United States or South Vietnam.

"Our people, both in the North and in the South, have never been afraid of the American aggressors and their puppets and will never yield to threats and desist from the fight for national liberation," the spokesman said.

## U.S. Imperialism, the Source of All Evil--

For a long time, U.S. Imperialism, scheming and plotting with the government lackeys it controls, has run the gamut of evil from petty thievery to outright plunder, murder and genocide in Latin America. Feeding on the blood of this continent, it has become the people's most vicious enemy.

Under the pretext of "economic integration", U.S. imperialism has worked its rapacious claws into the vital economic heart of each Latin American country, controlling its economy and sucking the blood and sweat of the people. U.S. merchandise has flooded the continent and its capital has penetrated into every country. U.S. loans have poured into every nook and corner of both public and private investment. The clearest lesson today is that the "economic integration of Latin America" is nothing but a complete and thorough Americanization and colonization.

The U.S. Department of Commerce's own statistics show that U.S. investment in Latin America last year exceeded 1,400 million dollars, 400 million more than the amount invested in 1965. The robbery carried out through this huge inflow of U.S. capital has brought oil production in Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador under U.S. monopoly capital control. In Chile, over 90 per cent of the copper is mined directly under U.S. monopoly, which rakes in a 100-million-dollar profit each year.

This rape has brought economic conditions in Latin America from bad to worse. In every country on the continent, production dwindles, unemployment in-

creases, prices rise steadily, currencies drop in value and the majority of the people starve or barely make a living.

Nearly one-eighth of all Brazilian territory has been bought or occupied by force by the Americans. Shocking the world, U.S. imperialism has massacred the Indians of Brazil in a planned and systematic way so that today only a few tens of thousands of them remain -- and these are threatened with racial extinction.

Countless facts prove that U.S. imperialism, calling itself the symbol of "civilization", is a crime-ridden butcher, the source of all the disasters and miseries of the Latin American people.

Chairman Mao long ago pointed out: "Imperialism has prepared the conditions for its own doom. These conditions are the awakening of the great masses of the people, in the colonies and semi-colonies and in the imperialist countries themselves." With the evil it does in Latin America, U.S. imperialism teaches the people by its own example; it created its own grave-diggers.

Wherever there is exploitation and oppression, there is resistance and struggle. The growing and spreading flames of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people are the best answer to U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The international united front against U.S. imperialism expands, the days of U.S. colonialist rule in Latin America are numbered, victory will one day come for the Latin American people.

## Farmer Finally Finds A Federal Job

by Danny Schechter

James Farmer has finally made it.

He's finally found himself a government niche. The former CORE leader, coaxed out of the Civil Rights spotlight in 1964, has been trying to get on the federal payroll for years. The one-time social democrat and Secretary of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, a forerunner to SCLC, became a Republican last fall to run for Congress in Brooklyn. Opposed by Brooklyn CORE and militant unions, he was swamped by the other Black candidate, Shirley Chisholm. Now he's the first "nationally known civil rights leader" to join the Nixon Administration -- as Assistant Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Farmer has a history as an unsuccessful federal job applicant. Just before he left CORE, Farmer went on a six-week tour of Africa under the auspices of the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa, a group he helped to found. The trip's tab was picked up by the American Society for African Culture, an identified CIA front. According to Jet, the Negro weekly, Farmer was being given a trial run for the post of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs. His tour took Farmer to the very same countries that Malcolm X had just visited. Apparently Farmer was being used to convey an image of the civil rights movement more favorable to American influence in Africa.

Farmer was clearly being used to discredit Malcolm X among Africans, though he now denies it. Just before he left, New York radio stations explicitly stated that that was his mission. After his trip Farmer wrote an article in the CIA-financed African Forum which suggested that, intentionally or not, he was preoccupied with Malcolm's impact: "President Johnson," reported Farmer, "for all his inestimable good will -- and I think he has it -- has not been in Africa. In Africa, in addition, Malcolm X contributed to

the generally unfavorable African opinion of Johnson by characterizing him in speeches and conversations with Africans as a Southern racist." The CORE leader explained that Malcolm had really been promoting a form of Apartheid.

To his credit, Farmer was critical of several aspects of U.S. Africa policy. Apparently he had served his function. He didn't get the job.

In 1965 he tried again to make himself a nationally visible leader, this time with a plan to set up a nationwide chain of OEO-funded adult education centers. The project which had little political content, had gotten a presidential nod. But Adam Clayton Powell began stirring up trouble over the proposal and, to avoid an embarrassing political fight with a then powerful committee chairman, OEO dropped it. Farmer was once again old man out.

Since then he has been odd-jobbing, teaching at Lincoln University, assisting the New Jersey Poverty Program, and eking out a living as a lecturer. Ignored by the national media which built up his image when he was with the PR-conscious CORE, Farmer never dug what was happening when the civil rights movement was transformed into a black power struggle. In a recent interview with the New York Times he articulated his confusion beautifully, expressing support for both "activist integration" and neoseparatism. "I saw a 'pendulum swing' which I believe will end somewhere in the middle."

As Nixon's top black, Farmer has melodramatically pledged to work for his people "on the inside." As an aside to the glib NEW Secretary Robert Fitch, a former member of Reagan's California regime, Farmer said he would be used to pacify "his people" and give the Nixon administration an image it sorely lacks in the black community. It looks like the 49-year-old former freedom rider has found a new train. This time, it's going nowhere.



# THE BLACK PEOPLE IN THE U.S. and the Viet Nam war



THE Black People account for 11 per cent of the population of the United-States, and Black Americans make up 25 per cent of the effectiveness of the U.S. aggressor army in Viet Nam. In combat units, the ratio sometimes reaches 60 or 70 per cent. In spite of this, the Vietnamese people has drawn a clear-cut line between the Black People in the United States and those Americans who reign the White House and the Pentagon.

As always, the Vietnamese people see in the Black People in the United States brothers and comrades-in-arms fighting the same enemy—U.S. imperialism. How they are moved upon learning that the Black People in the United States have demonstrated with slogans: "Don't take arms and fight in Viet Nam!" "Don't fire at our Vietnamese brothers!" "No Vietnamese has ever called us nigger!" "Our enemy is not Viet Nam!" etc...

The truth has been quite clear.

The more the U.S. imperialists persist in prolonging their war of aggression in Viet Nam, the more disastrous defeats and the more losses in men and material they will take. The more they force young Americans into the army, the more they trample underfoot the vital interests of the Black People, first of all the Black People—the poorest and the most oppressed. The historic lesson of all the wars the U.S. imperialists have taken part in has taught the Black People that whatever war the U.S. Government pushes them into will bring them nothing but tears and blood.

When the U.S. entered world war I in 1917, the country again faced the question whether American citizens should have the right to serve, on an equal basis, in defense of their country. More than 2 million Negroes registered under the Selective Service Act, and some 360,000 were called into service.

The Navy Corps rejected Negroes except as menials. The Marine Corps rejected them altogether. The Army formed them into separate units commanded, for the most part, by white officers. Only after enormous pressure did the Army permit Negro candidates to train as officers in a segregated camp. Mistreated at home and overseas, Negro combat units performed exceptionally well under French commanders, who refused to heed American warning that Negroes were inferior people.

Mobbed for attempting to use facilities open to white soldiers,

Negro soldiers returning home suffered indignities. Of the 70 Negroes lynched during the last year after the war, of substantial number were soldiers. Some were lynched in uniform.

During World War II, negroes learned again that fighting for their country brought them no nearer to full citizenship. Rejected when they tried to enlist, they were accepted into the Army according to the proportion of the Negro population to that of the country as a whole—but only in Separate units—and those mostly noncombat. The U.S. thus fought racism in Europe with a segregated fighting force. In some instances at home, Negro soldiers were unable to secure food, even though German prisoners of war being served.

The position and the lot of the Black GIs on the South Viet Nam battlefield are not better than those of their fathers during the world wars. The Forces have specialized them in "serving" Messrs the white GIs, and the posts assigned them often are the most exposed and the most dangerous.

These facts have laid bare the deceptive promise made by the American recruiting service: "You'll have a future in the Forces", and "The Forces will give you a technical speciality". But, the mothers and the wives of Black GIs have seen their sons and husbands come home minus their arms or their legs, or worse still, shut in coffins which are only allowed to be buried in cemeteries reserved for the Black People, since Arlington is an exclusive place for the Whites.

Small wonder that young Americans have demonstrated shouting "we won't go to hell!" Also little wonder that the nonviolence organizations of the Black People have adjusted their line of struggle, that radical organizations of the New Left have been formed to push up the struggle against segregation and the war in Viet Nam and that the U.S. Riot Commission has, with concerns, pointed out in its report:

"The honour of Watts was the last shattering revelation about America's racial crisis—and a grim prelude to the future. The Summer of 1967—in Newark, Detroit, Cleveland and across the Nation—revealed the bitter, deep-rooted dissection in our cities, the result of over 300 years of inequities..."

The ruling circles in the United States keep in mind that over 100,000 Black Americans are under arms in Viet Nam. The day when they realize that the real theatre of operation is in the United States itself, a delay-action bomb will be planted right there.



Chile: With rocks, the people counterattack troops and police sent to suppress their demonstration against the government's rapacious policies formed under the International Monetary Fund controlled by U.S. imperialism.

## OSPAAAL condemns attacks on people of Palestine

● HAVANA. — The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) issued a call to all socialist and progressive countries and revolutionary organizations the world over to give material and moral support to the armed struggle for the liberation of the people of Palestine.

The document states that "Once again, and as a result of her continued attacks against the people of the Arab and Arab regions, Israel has shown itself to be an imperialist base." It went on to say that "Israel aggression during the past few months has consisted of attacks against cities, communications lines, factories and industrial centers of the Arab countries and continual air attacks by the Israeli Air Force on cities in Jordan; attacks on the Suez Canal and Nabl Hamadi, the criminal closing of the Suez Canal a year and a half ago, and,

more recently, the inhuman attack on Beirut's airport."

The declaration of OSPAAAL affirms that the Israeli actions against the people of Palestine "bring to mind the Nazi savagery whose victims were the Jews, now the Israelis are launching the same savage attacks against the people of Palestine."

After stating that Israel has always carried out the plans of U.S. imperialism in Asia and Africa through her aggressions against the Arab people and her support of the imperialist aggression against Vietnam and the imperialist intervention in the movement for liberation in the African continent, OSPAAAL condemns the Israeli aggressions, declares the Palestinian people's armed struggle for the liberation of their homeland now occupied by Israel — a just cause and states that it is putting all the organization's resources behind this cause.

## SAIGON PAPER ON U.S. AID TO SOUTH VIET NAM

consumers' goods and food. The Viet Nam administration has been selling these U.S. products to the people in order to finance its budget. Meanwhile, for the benefit of U.S. capitalist circles, the U.S. administration has been paying in dollars for surplus goods to be exported to Viet Nam.

In other words, U.S. economic aid is only a means of exporting its products: Washington buys goods from American firms and sends them to the "recipient" country. Of course if U.S. aid consisted of machines, which would enable Viet Nam to produce consumer goods herself, would the U.S.A. still have in Viet Nam a market for her own? Moreover, U.S. commodities being of higher quality, Viet Nam-made articles—if any—would be sooner or later jostled of the market.

Understandably, the Vietnamese authorities having for fifteen years lived on U.S. debt, never thought of solving the problem in a different way, more beneficial to the nation. Two years ago, PKs for American amount of imported rice cannot meet the needs of the entire population. In the previous years, we had to buy yearly from 700,000 to 1,000,000 tons of rice. According to the Minister for Agriculture and Land Reform, short of another way out, we shall have again to import 1,700,000 tons of rice.

The Minister of Economy, who is optimistic by nature, has of course a rosier view. He simply thinks that the more we import, the lower prices will go down, and that we have to buy only 100,000 tons! He

is of the opinion that we shall have to import only little rice, probably because having great confidence in the Than Nong variety which has been only cultivated on an experimental basis, he has multiplied by seven its annual output. With the risks of the present war, can such a prevision inspire us with optimism? Import of goods turns in the same vicious circle, whether it is direct aid from the U.S.A. or triangular aid from Japan, Taiwan or Germany. Prices are rocketing not because of ends for food, clothing and everything necessary to national life. Finally, U.S. aid does not do any good at all to urban economy.

U.S. aid favours only a number of individuals, and it does not lay any basis for economic production. Such is the fundamental shortcoming of the U.S. aid policy which is at the same time its basic purpose: brings forth an economy of consumers instead of an economy of producers.

As a result, Viet Nam's economy finds itself in a tragic state—the tragic inability of supporting itself. We do not dwell on the political tragedy, for U.S. assistance is with political strings attached and is used by the U.S. administration to put pressure on Vietnamese Governments. These and those of other countries have galvanized victims to this aid policy. It is high time for the Vietnamese to solve themselves their economic problems if they want to survive. To rely only on imported goods and rice for one's food and clothing will amount to a sort of national suicide.



Since the massacres of October, we don't hear much about the student movement in Mexico. Reports that are received are contradictory. The movement has been forced to go underground and little reliable information gets out.

Granma reports that in December more than 500 students were arrested after trying to stage a march to demand the release of students who had been arrested previously. "They held a rally in the square in front of the rector's office, where speakers explained the reasons for calling off the march: to avoid the arrest or massacre of the revolutionary student vanguard. However, the government will not stop us from going into the streets in our agitation brigades."

In response to the pre-Olympic massacres in Mexico, two pamphlets have been produced. The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has put out one pamphlet, mostly on repression. The North American Congress on Latin America has published a study in two parts. The first part analyzes the movement itself, especially how it grew in the face of repression. The second part outlines U.S. involvement in Mexico and its policies of repression. (Each pamphlet costs a dollar; write to USLA Justice Committee, P.O. Box 2309, New York, N.Y. 10001, or NACLA, P.O. Box 57, Cathedral Park Station, New York, N.Y. 10025).

We are reproducing excerpts of interviews with three Mexican student leaders held in late September, published in the NACLA pamphlet. Although these interviews occurred in an early stage of the struggle, the political thinking of the three leaders hint at future possibilities.

## STUDENT FROM FACULTY OF SCIENCES (UNAM)

**QUESTION:** In your view, what is the importance of the type of organization that has been imposed on this government—concretely, the brigades and the National Strike Council?

**ANSWER:** A base has been established that did not exist in Mexico before. Never before, in any movement, have such a great number of students been mobilized, and an organizational culture of this nature been achieved. For the first time there is a council that embraces students from the Polytechnic Institute, (the agricultural school at Chapingo and many other schools. The fact that it has been achieved, that an organ with representatives from 128 schools actually functions, is a very important precedent in Mexico.

At this time we have the seeds of an organization but...no political line. This can be seen in the activity of the National Strike Council—mere practical activity of the moment. It is an organization of defensive character, one that responds according to the action of the Government.

When the present situation is resolved, the organization we now have must become an offensive organization; that is, one that develops a long-range political orientation.

## CLASS DIVISIONS

The basic difficulty the Mexican student movement has faced is the multiplicity of tendencies that has existed in the binary system of education. On the one hand there are students from the bourgeois class (in the university), and on the other, students from the popular groups and the lower middle class who attend the technical institutes. This cleavage, which was very well-defined at the time of the founding of the Polytechnic Institute in the 1950s, has gradually become less sharp—unfortunately, not because the university has become more "popular" in its constituency, but because the Polytechnic institute has become more aristocratic. The Polytechnic Institute has now become another university (it lacks certain faculties such as Philosophy and Letters to become a true university).

Fundamentally, the perspectives and concerns of the students do not differ from one group to the other. It is this similarity that has made student unity possible at this time...The unity between the "Pop" and the UNAM is an accomplished fact that will not disappear.

**QUESTION:** How do you think this unity can be maintained?

**ANSWER:** We believe the goal should be a national student federation or a national student union or something along those lines, with characteristics similar to those the National Strike Council now possesses. It should become what Lenin once called the "catalyst of the revolution," a nucleus, or a spark that will start a fire. The student group has certain basic characteristics that make it the first sector to react to the social situation. It is the sector that has greatest access to information, is the most educated, and has the greatest critical capacity. It is also the sector of society that is least subject to pressures—that is, in this system workers and peasants are subject to innumerable pressures and obstacles that hinder their mobilization...

In Mexico, a worker who even attempts to plant the seed of an organization that is independent of the (PRI)-controlled unions is immediately fired from the factory. A peasant who attempts to go outside the unions established by the CNC (National Confederation of Peasants) of the PRI is immediately ostracized.

## LIMITS OF STUDENT MOVEMENT

Nonetheless, the bourgeois outlook of Mexican students—the class origins of the majority of the students—causes this mobilization to be one of sporadic nature; that is, it is one that definitely cannot reach large sectors of the population. The moment has come in which the student movement—by its very nature—finds itself incapable of moving any farther... The student movement has given all that it had to give; that is, it arrived at the greatest possible degree of radicalism. But what is necessary is that it move on to a second stage, to fulfill its role in showing that the regime in Mexico is not invulnerable, that massive mobilizations are possible, that the structure is not hermetic. At this moment there should have occurred—and it would have occurred in a country where the labor movement was not so controlled—a great mobilization of support that would have reached the leadership with much more serious demands. What was lacking here...was organized labor—a class-based political party, a functional mechanism that would have permitted the whole current of sympathy and support that developed among the working classes in general to become organic support.

In spite of the distortions of the radio, the press, etc., everybody in Mexico supports and sympathizes with the student movement. However, this cannot be translated into practical action because in reality they are controlled. For this reason all the attempts to overcome these organizational obstacles have been futile, owing to the enormous corruption that exists.

Political movements cannot remain static; they advance and become radicalized or they retreat. The student movement began to move, reached its apogee, and at the moment in which it should have been replaced by something else, there was no suitable organization to carry this out and now, in terms of organization, it is beginning to decline... Student awareness is not disappearing; it is an irrevocable process.

The problem of creating political awareness does not rest so much on convincing people that things are bad, but that they could stop being so. They must be convinced that mobilization of their own forces could indeed affect government structures.

## STUDENT FROM FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

**QUESTION:** What is the function and importance of the student brigades?

**ANSWER:** The formation of brigades has been the tactical form the struggle has taken in the face of aggression. Through our experience with them we know that it is possible to continue the struggle in a decided way...Some of the brigades have developed such an awareness of the situation that they themselves are formulating their slogans and flyers and they have set for themselves a long-range program. The brigade system has been so successful that the President acknowledged in his "report" that we have excellent means of communication with the people. Thus even though the brigades arose spontaneously and automatically, they are now functioning under a set discipline that became necessary as the movement gathered momentum.

The "politicalization" that the brigades have achieved has been effected by means of reading, listening to seminars, assemblies and studies they have been carrying out—a political awareness that has been in turn transmitted directly to the public in general.

The brigades are the backbone that has sustained the movement in practice. **QUESTION:** Do you believe that the organization of a new political party is possible?

**ANSWER:** The problem of determining the most appropriate form of organization that will result from this movement has already been discussed by the COMITES DE LUCHA. I believe that the creation of a revolutionary party is beyond the capacity of this movement even though we in fact lack a truly revolutionary party. But I doubt that a party is the most appropriate organizational form the movement should take in Mexico at this time. In the event of the creation of such a party, the role of students would have to be studied...

We do not believe that the necessary political work can be sustained by the work of the brigades. This work, even though it represents the backbone of the movement, clearly reveals the lack of national direction that might formulate more centralized and more effectively directed strategy for the struggle. The fact that the lack of national direction may be seen does not necessarily imply that a political party should be formed. We students must seek a unique form of organization that will allow us to become more consistent theoretically, and simultaneously more consistent in practical work.

## VANGUARD?

**QUESTION:** How has the movement been viewed by the institutions, groups or parties of the left?

**ANSWER:** At no time has it (the Communist Party) been able to propose an appropriate direction for us to take. In general terms, we do not believe that either the Communist Party or other so-called parties of the left are in a position to organize anyone.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that the student movement has limited perspectives?

**ANSWER:** By definition the student movement has been limited in its perspectives. We believe that it is a mistake to think that the students can sustain popular demands of practice or ideology. The fact that student demands are close to those of the people does not mean that the student movement has unlimited other political or class sectors.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that the student movement is the vanguard of a popular movement?

**ANSWER:** It has been shown over and over that even if a popular movement has its genesis in the university, students cannot be the vanguard of the movement because of the class differences (with those who form the popular base) it may be said, however, that students can serve or participate in the leadership of a popular movement.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that government repression has been unsuccessful with regard to the brigades?

**ANSWER:** The regime's efforts at repression have at no time been a true representation of the repressive capacities of the government. The repression becomes "serious," when there isn't only intervention on the part of the army but also the active, armed participation of the Fascist groups of the Government. Things are going to get rough for students who have neither arms nor the necessary





# ZAPATA

THE BLACK PANTHER - SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 1969

training in how to use them. Within the university itself, the brigades would not only be ineffective but it would be irresponsible on the part of the leadership of the movement to be forced to confront repressive forces that would be undoubtedly implacable. When this happens, it will be necessary to define the struggle in terms of two alternatives; either we take up arms or we opt for a cessation of all activity which would not only permit students to return to the university but would also allow the

## STUDENT FROM NATIONAL POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

**QUESTION:** What are the specific differences between the Polytechnic Institute and the National University (UNAM)?  
**ANSWER:** There is no difference in organization. All the schools have the same organization, the National Strike Council. But I suppose that there are some tactical and theoretical differences.

However, the Polytechnic Institute originally created for the poor, has become more bourgeois since the last educational reforms. Whereas before only students of scarce means studied here, now almost half the student body is composed of students having some resources. These differences can also be seen in attitudes toward student struggles. Students at the National University even have a special understanding of autonomy. Although theoretically they are unaware of it, we can see by their attitude and behavior

hurts us, does not frighten us. As a student who lives in the slums or tenements can affirm, our children and mother workers die daily of curable, simple illnesses. We lack the means to fight even these small infirmities we suffer owing to the environment, the lack of hygiene, malnutrition, etc.

**QUESTION:** What about the struggle as its organization?

**ANSWER:** The greatest desire of Mexican youth has always been to become united around common, concrete problems. The lack of organizations that truly represented the students at large kept us all disoriented. Even those groups that have represented government interests among students such as the FNIT (Federación Nacional de Estudiantes Tecnológicos) owe their existence to the lack of organization among the students themselves. Yet the present movement has achieved great organization in that the National Strike Council alone has 250 members and the whole network of over 800 brigades has 8,100 or up to 15 members in each brigade.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that the student force may become a popular force in the future?

**ANSWER:** Our movement is already popular; this you may see by our demand in the petition movement. It is true that there is a lot of passivity on the part of truly proletarian sectors; but in order to overcome this we have created and we will continue to create and promote the whole system of brigades.

**QUESTION:** What do the students of the Polytechnic Institute think of the intellectuals of Mexico?

**ANSWER:** Intellectuals have always made their demonstrations outside the social context of the real "people". They have never had the courage—or they have not wanted to have it—to develop a theory on which a protest could be based. The majority of them are a very important part of the whole State apparatus. No one dedicated intellectuals—such as Jose R. Vial—can support and bravely participate in a popular movement, are rare.

**QUESTION:** Much has been said to the effect that the Mexican people greatly distrust the movement and its leaders. Do you believe that this phenomenon is present among the students of the Polytechnic Institute, owing to their very class origins?

**ANSWER:** No. In the Polytechnic Institute, the student body now believes in its leaders; it has faith in the movement, as do the workers. You have been able to see that here in the University (representatives of many popular sectors have been brought together—taxi drivers, among others. This shows that the distrustful attitude of workers and peasants is already disappearing. It should also be pointed out that the pressure of students at large has been responsible for the emergence of good, authentic leaders.

Translated by Jackie Skiles Quayle



development of other possibilities for future democratic movements.

**QUESTION:** If students are not the vanguard of the popular movement, how can they take up arms?

**ANSWER:** We are convinced that students have no possibility for victory in terms of an armed struggle, owing to their class origins; but we are convinced that we have great political capacities. With regard to the question of arming students, we believe that it is pointless to raise it. What we believe possible is that students, in addition to political ability, have the capacity to take control of the streets and taking control of the streets does not mean taking up arms.

**QUESTION:** Don't you believe that the importance of the movement resides in the exemplary action the student can show the people?

**ANSWER:** Of course, in almost all struggles students have been an example for the people; however, this does not mean we are responsible for the movements. It should be understood, however, that students are no example for the working class in the sense that we have anything to teach them since the worker through his own experience, already knows how to do things. Of course the demonstrations we have held are an example; so is the takeover of the university, but not the taking of arms.

**QUESTION:** Do you believe that clandestine action would be a more effective weapon in case repression is stepped up?

**ANSWER:** We believe that a clandestine movement is necessary at this time for two reasons: (1) because it makes it possible for many cadres to be permanently active and (2) because it guarantees the combativeness of students themselves. However the clandestine movement demands many things that are not present in the university among them, discipline. If operating underground does not guarantee the mobilization, it is logical that not only with the clandestine system of opposition be sacrificed but the rational basis for the movement as well. Clandestine activity for its own sake is meaningless.

The problem of the University is that its constituency is much more theoretically oriented than we are. By our very class origins—the sons of workers and peasants—we live the conditions of hunger and poverty more than do those who live them only in words. At the Polytechnic we have a large number of students who have no place to sleep; they live in truly precarious, difficult conditions. We also have a very small number of scholarships available, while at the University there are persons with greater economic means and there are more scholarships.

how each student feels autonomous, whereas in the Polytechnic Institute the students have a more gregarious concept of themselves. For students of the University, contact with workers is a new thing. That's why they brag so much about the brigades that go to the people. We also have brigades—and very good ones—but going to the workers does not make a special impression on us because we live in their midst, we share the same conditions.

We are no longer afraid of anything. An assassinated worker, although it deeply



# ITALY... Monopoly Strike

Italian workers and students in all parts of the country have recently been holding strikes and demonstrations on a massive scale and occupying factories and schools, with farm laborers and sharecroppers also going into action. The struggle against ruthless exploitation and oppression by monopoly capital has thus reached a new high, and the reactionary rule of the Italian ruling circles has been dealt telling blows.

On February 5, well over 18 million workers went on a 24-hour nationwide general strike to protest against the cruel exploitation by monopoly capital and to demand better living conditions. The strike crippled the entire country's industrial production, hit agriculture and commerce hard and cost the monopoly capitalists 56 million U.S. DOLLARS.

In Rome, the capital, 3,000 striking workers held a rally in a plaza and then demonstrated in the downtown area. The workers' just struggle won the warm support of progressive students and many students joined the ranks of the demonstrating workers. Holding aloft portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao, the students shouted "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" and other revolutionary slogans. The students also carried placards inscribed with quotations from Chairman Mao to inspire the militant spirit of the workers.

On January 29, forty thousand attendants of the small filling stations in all parts of Italy went on a strike and against exploitation by the big petrol companies.

Students and workers in Naples took to the streets together the same day in a big demonstration against fascist police repression of demonstrating students. Filled with indignation, 3,000 demonstrators besieged the local police station for 90 minutes, demanding the release of scores of arrested demonstrators. They valiantly fought back against bloody police suppression and wounded 23 policemen in the process.

In the northern part of Italy, workers in River Agno Valley, Vicenza Province, held a general strike on January 30 to show their solidarity with the 5,000 textile workers who occupied the woolen

mill Marzotto at Valdagno on January 24. Seven thousand workers taking part in the general strike demonstrated outside the Valdagno town hall. Scores of children from workers' families joined the demonstration. Slogans on the placards they carried read: "Mama, keep on with the struggle!" "Don't give up, Papa, I stand by your side!" All shops remained closed.

On February 3, five thousand residents in Fondi, Lathia Province, south of Rome, held a big demonstration in protest over the forcing down of the purchase price of oranges by the monopoly capitalists and their agent, the Italian Government. The measure to keep the price down seriously affected the local residents' livelihood.

All industrial workers in Brindisi, Apulia Region, southern Italy, went on a 6-day general strike for higher wages from January 31 to February 5.

In Trapani, in the Sicily region of southern Italy, 20,000 farm laborers and sharecroppers demonstrated on January 27 to protest against brutal exploitation by capitalist farmers.

In the same region an impressive demonstration in Catania was staged by peasants on February 7 in protest over the monopoly enterprises' manipulations to get bigger profits by forcing down the purchase price of oranges. The peasants who besieged the prefectural building, Railway Station and from the city was blocked for several hours by more than 2,000 demonstrators who occupied the railway station and sat down on the tracks.

Students in Naples and Genoa, Italy's two major port cities, marched through the streets to demonstrate against the rotten bourgeois educational system, the government's fraudulent "reforms" and police suppression. University and middle school students in Rome, Florence, Trieste, Bari, Brindisi, Avellino and Alessandria occupied their schools and Bologna university students battered down the door of the rector's office and occupied it.



U.S. aggressor frustrated by Defeat

## To Hell With Nixon's 'Benevolence'

Nixon reminds one in his "inaugural address" of a mountebank trying to hawk his junk in high-sounding terms. Putting up a hypocritical front, he talked profusely about "unity" and "freedom," asking the American people to exert their "energies" to make "splendid efforts" and babbling that everyone "go forward together" and that things should be "done by government and people together."

Well, well, it seemed as though a vast change had suddenly occurred with Nixon taking over the American presidency. It seemed as though he wanted to apply "a policy of benevolence" to the American people who could enjoy "freedom," would be freed from oppression, exploitation and unemployment, and they would have bread to eat, provided they achieved "unity" with the U.S. Government and exerted their "energies" to make "splendid efforts." What fine words!

Is this how things really are? Let the harsh realities of the United States give the answer.

Recently the vigorously progressive student movement there was ruthlessly suppressed by large numbers of helmeted police sent by the authorities. In the state of California, several hundred students were arrested by the revolutionary authorities. This showed up the so-called "freedom" and "unity" which Nixon tries his utmost to brag about.

The Afro-American struggle a-

gainst racial discrimination and violent repression has been subjected time and again to cruel fascist suppression by the U. S. Government. This is the meaning of the "freedom" and "unity" Nixon glibly talks about.

About 10 million unemployed and partially unemployed workers in the United States go hungry all year round and suffer from winter cold. This is the "well-being" the U. S. Government bestows on the people and the "policy of benevolence" it applies to them.

Nixon asks the American people to exert their "energies" to make "splendid efforts." To put it bluntly, this only means that the working people are asked to do back-breaking work like beasts of burden so that the monopoly capital groups can satisfy their desire to fleece and bleed them white.

The living conditions of the United States today cannot be covered up by any word juggling by Nixon.

If there is freedom for the exploiters, there is no freedom for the exploited; if there is democracy for the monopoly capitalist class, there is no democracy for the proletariat. The "unity" and "freedom" advertised by Nixon are nothing but empty bubbles. This clumsy class conciliation deception can only serve to fully expose the extremely weak nature of the reactionary Nixon Administration and its dire plight of being beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

## Nooses Around Imperialism's Neck

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has replaced the German, Italian and Japanese fascists as the world's biggest aggressor, oppressor and exploiter. It has formed all kinds of military blocs all over the world, dispatched more than one million troops to be stationed on foreign soil, and set up more than 700 huge military bases abroad to carry out wars of aggression and suppress the revolutions of the people of many countries. It spends over 80,000 million dollars a year on frenzied arms expansion and war preparations. U.S. imperialism dreams of building a huge American empire by these means. But, as our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out, "U.S. imperialism has over-reached itself. Wherever it commits aggression, it puts a new noose around its neck. It is beset by ring upon ring by the people of the whole world." By frantically persisting in its perverse actions, U.S. imperialism is fast becoming the opposite of what it wishes subjectively.

## Bursting Bombs Scatter

DALLAS -- Feb. 23 (AP) Bursting bombs scattered right-wing hate leaflets in Dallas, Carthage, Tex., and Little Rock, Ark., Saturday night. Damage was believed to be less than \$2,000.

The leaflets, right-wing literature directed at socialism and bureaucracy, bore a "minute" signature and were headed "Fight the Parasites," "Stop the Bureaucratic Tyrants," and "Death to Socialism."

The bomb blast in Dallas occurred in a parking lot near the First Baptist Church and the offices of the Internal Revenue Service.

The Little Rock blast was in a parking lot of television station KTHV. A plane was believed to have dropped the third bomb Carthage. A number of cars were damaged.

## BRAZIL, THE REASONS FOR VIOLENCE

● Brazil, the largest and most populous nation of Latin America, has been in the world news constantly in recent times. Moreover, the Brazilian regime reported on Brazil have been invariably distinguished by violence.

This is the news which has made headlines the world over: the abolition of the U.S. Government of the Brazilian monopoly enterprises; waves of arrests and indiscriminate repression; military seizures; seizures of dynamite, weapons and arms from partisan organizations; projects of land reform, agrarian and labor strike difficulties between the regime and the religious sector; clashes with students and terrorist acts by right hand men of the regime; and one who has aroused comment in the press of many countries, is that events of this kind have been taking place in widely separated regions throughout the country. Daily newspapers have been publishing reports of widespread this violence. These reports come not only from the largest cities, such as Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, but also from Rio Horizonte, Foz de Iguaçu, Curitiba, Vitória and Santos and even from remote villages in the Amazon region.

This crisis has now reached even the inner circle of the Brazilian military regime which today, since Congress has been dissolved, governs in an even more authoritarian fashion under the so-called Institutional Act Number 5. This is an arbitrary decree imposed by the regime that the most recent of these. It officially eliminates even the last vestiges of constitutional and legal rights.

The underlying causes of these events are considerably clearer when one understands their background and geographical distribution.

Brazil, a nation of 3,286,169 square miles and 90 million inhabitants, is not only enormous in size but also rich in natural resources. Yet it is an underdeveloped nation dependent on foreign markets. The bare facts and figures indicate the drastic situation: dimension: 500,000 children dying annually; more than 40 million illiterate; 86 percent of the rural population without land, while half the farmhand is the hands of one percent of the landowners; a foreign debt amounting to more than 3,000 million dollars made an annual drain of more than 200 million dollars in profits made by U.S. monopolies; and an average life span among the workers

and peasants of 33 to 38 years, compared with 63 among the landowners and the capitalists.

U.S. imperialism regards this huge nation as an important "strategic zone," not only because of its policy of plundering that country's wealth but also because it considers the country a base for stopping the revolutionary movements in Latin America. Thus, imperialism intervenes in Brazil has become increasingly intensive and direct, beginning with the overthrow of Goulart in April 1964 and the election of military regimes, the first of which was headed by Castelo Branco and the most recent by Costa e Silva.

Under such military regimes, imperialism and private enterprise have been given an increasingly freer hand in their policies prejudicial to the interests of the nation and the people. The regime has been ruling the country for itself: an increased cost of living, inflation, declining prices of export products, budgetary deficits and a general impoverishment of the nation.

The heavy burden has been completely explained in the light of the farmers and increased discontent among the poorer sectors of the population.

In an attempt to stem this wave of discontent, the regime has dropped all pretenses of "legality" and has unleashed an open wave of reactionary terror.

Under such circumstances, since there is no other way of eliminating the situation, the only way to change the nation and the working classes, armed struggle appears — both at this moment and in the foreseeable future — to be the only alternative.

Thus, the strategic solution to the conflict, regardless of the ups and downs that have occurred, is clearly in view. It is liberation through revolutionary armed struggle.

ALL POWER  
TO THE  
PEOPLE

# WEST GERMAN S.D.S. SUPPORTS BLACK PANTHERS AND BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT



Karl Dietrich Wolff, 26, was SDS' national chairman until the end of 1968. He is right now on a speaking tour in this country to raise funds for more than 2,000 political trials pending against SDS organizers. While in Los Angeles, L.A. police harassed him, arresting him for an afternoon on made-up charges of suspicion to have stolen a car.

Demonstrators trying to stop with their bodies a truck with copies of Springer newspapers during the blockade of the delivery of the Springer Press (Easter 1968 in Essen). On both sides: demonstrators fighting against the police who try to break up the sit-in.



The week after Bobby Hutton was murdered and Eldridge Cleaver wounded in April 1968 our brother Rudi Dutschke, organizer of West German SDS, was shot down and nearly killed. The revolutionary movement of German students had spread to other parts of our society. Mobilizing young workers and high school students had become a veritable threat to the power elites. They responded with whipped-up hysteria in the mass media and with terror. The same week the Un-American Activities Committee proposed concentration camps for black militants in the U.S. the German Parliament debated a proposal calling for preventive arrest of demonstrators. The newspapers of the Springer press trust, a monopoly with reactionary views like the Oakland Tribune had asked that student radicals be "rubbed out".

When Rudi Dutschke was shot they wanted us to believe they had nothing to do with it. But the movement understood - and answered. During Easter - 1968 more than 150,000 young workers, students from universities and high schools blocked the delivery of the Springer hate press for two days. They tried to club us down, teargas us, disband us with mounted police. But we resisted.

We believe you don't change a situation by protesting verbally, you don't impress your oppressors by appealing to them, that even passivity doesn't make them less brutal. Those who believe in a monopoly of the state to use force have been unmasked. We will be liberated. We will take up the means necessary.

The same power elites are restored in West Germany today which helped German fascism rise. There is a dangerous development of institutional fascism inside the "democratic" institutions. It does not need the goose-step. It does not need the Nazi uniform. An in-

creasing number of young workers, students and professionals is developing a clear perspective of resistance, of organizing themselves.

We are not yet organized as well as the oppressive minorities which control the vast majorities of our peoples. We do not have the international links yet with our brothers and sisters in struggle abroad. Yet, an initiative has been started to destroy the unholy alliance of Nixon & De Gaulle & Kiesinger Inc. through an international campaign against the renewal of the NATO treaty this year.

The Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund - SDS - (German Socialist Students' League), the strongest group of West Germany's radical left, extends our fraternal greetings to the Black Panther Party and its members. We know that the success of your struggle is also a victory for us as every blow to imperialism is a victory for the peoples of the world. As we see the liberation movement in the third world, in Vietnam and Guatemala, in Angola and in Bolivia, destroy imperialism from the outside it is our duty to take up the struggle in the heart of imperialism. Since the May Revolt in France the masses of the oppressed, the working people in capitalist "mother countries" have finally started to act.

Victory shall be ours.

## CRISES-RIDDEN U.S. IMPERIALIST WILL

NOT  
LAST  
LONG

U.S. imperialism can find no solution to its daily growing difficulties at home and abroad, nor can it extricate itself from rapidly developing political, economic, military and cultural crises. This is the awful mess new U.S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon has inherited from his predecessor, Lyndon Johnson. In these circumstances, Nixon has had to admit in dismay that "there are a number of problems which this administration confronts; each requires urgent attention" and "it is very difficult to single one out and put it above the other."

Finding themselves in an impasse and on their last legs, the U.S. monopoly capitalist groups thrust the Republican Nixon into power to get U.S. imperialism out of its crises. But statements before the after taking office show that not only has he no panacea to offer, but he is in fact at a loss about what to do in the face of the grave crises. This brought on the Western press wailing that "the Nixon Administration is already in a state of crisis before it begins work."

## Remember Brother Malcolm



born May 19, 1925 - Assassinated Feb. 21, 1965



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# October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

## What We Want What We Believe

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.



### FREE HUEY

*Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party*

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to **POLICE BRUTALITY** and **MURDER** of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

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## THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

BY THE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

**BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER**  
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BERKELEY, CALIF.

## RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to other national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

## THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings, of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded with narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expect a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work unit in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Finance Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read at least two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 POINTS OF  
ATTENTION

- 1) Speak politely.
- 2) Pay fairly for what you buy.
- 3) Return everything you borrow.
- 4) Pay for anything you damage.
- 5) Do not hit or swear at people.
- 6) Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
- 7) Do not take liberties with women.
- 8) If we ever have in take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 MAIN RULES OF  
DISCIPLINE

- 1) Obey orders in all your actions.
- 2) Do not take a single needle or a piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.
- 3) Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.



# SOUL ON ICE?

"IT IS ONLY A MATTER OF TIME UNTIL THE QUESTION OF THE PRISONER'S DEBT TO SOCIETY VERSUS SOCIETY'S DEBT TO THE

PRISONER IS INJECTED FORCEFULLY INTO NATIONAL AND STATE POLITICS, INTO THE CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND INTO THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE BODY POLITIC. IT IS AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE WHICH GOES TO THE VERY ROOT OF AMERICA'S SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, THE STRUCTURE OF CRIMINAL LAW, THE PREVAILING BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD A CONVICTED FELON." (SOUL ON ICE, P.59)

Eldridge Cleaver made the decision to politically exile himself November 27th, on the basis that the Adult Authority made an outlaw decision, and that he has been denied his constitutional right to due process of law.

The revocation of Cleaver's parole was illegal, because no parole violation was committed.

The Adult Authority parole board has tried to maintain that Cleaver violated his parole by having a rifle in his possession, and by associating with individuals of bad reputation. This contention, we will show, is false. The Adult Authority version contradicts the Superior Court order itself.

"... Cleaver's only handling of a firearm (the rifle) was in obedience to a police command. He did not handle a hand gun at all. There was nothing one way or the other to show a conspiracy or a situation calling for the application of the doctrine of aiding and abetting. Hence, nothing supported either the possession of a firearm or the assault charge.

As to the charge of association with individuals of bad reputation, the report indicated that two or three of those named had "police records," but nothing to show whether any had been convicted of anything, or whether Cleaver knew of their arrest record." (Superior Court c.t. 137, 138, 140, 141.)

Parolee Cleaver was denied due process of law by being denied opportunity to present his defense.

Why was Cleaver returned to prison as a parole violator if documented evidence to the contrary had been presented in his defense? To answer that question, one must examine the Adult Authority. This board has the right to arbitrarily revoke or suspend parole on any individual. At the same time, the Adult Authority maintains—falsely—that Cleaver has the opportunity to defend himself at a hearing. This is how it works:

"A parolee is served with violation charges, is interviewed, is given a hearing (before the Adult Authority itself, the charging party) at which the parolee may 'plead' to the parole violation charges, and is afforded an opportunity to present his defense."

"At the 'hearing' a parolee is denied the right to counsel, may not have an independent and impartial officer to conduct the hearing and make decision." (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 17)

Not only does the Adult Authority hold secret hearings, but it also refuses to notify persons under its jurisdiction of its procedures, or of its variable definitions of what constitutes a parole violation. This secrecy and vagueness is in direct violation of federal law which requires agencies to publish their procedures "for guidance of the public."

"Petitioner (Cleaver) is immediately and seriously prejudiced by the Adult Authority's unlawful refusal to publish its regulations, since he is to be imprisoned by virtue of an action which the Adult Authority still seeks to garb in this 'veil of secrecy.' (Petition for Hearing in the Supreme Court, p. 12)

Yes, the Adult Authority acted unjustly and illegally. Its decision was an outlaw decision. Cleaver had no chance of obtaining "justice" from these Star Chamber proceedings. Why then wouldn't the U.S. Supreme Court hear Cleaver's case? There are, we believe, three reasons why the case wasn't accepted. The first is that any fair minded court would obviously have released Cleaver, thereby setting a precedent. The second is that thousands of cases of alleged parole violation from all over California and other states would be subject to "reversal." Thirdly, the illegal functioning of the Adult Authority would come under attack. The U.S. Supreme Court just couldn't afford to consider the Cleaver case during this turbulent period.

Eldridge Cleaver is a victim of naked, shameless political persecution. As Judge Sherwin puts it:

"... The uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner had been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of

his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbefitting, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this state."

Cleaver is in political exile because a man of his convictions cannot get justice here. Indeed, if we are to give more than lip service to the concepts of freedom and justice we must support him. The work to get him discharged from parole must continue. An intense publicity campaign is necessary now to bring to the public the legal defense and arguments which were carried to the courts with no satisfaction. We must all work together to focus attention of this case. This is not an issue of one man's freedom, but a broad struggle which affirms the right of all of us to speak out politically in this country. If Cleaver is not allowed his freedom, it is just a matter of time until all our freedoms are further reduced. His is not a personal struggle but a political one.

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# BLACK PEOPLE: KEEP YOUR GUNS

### CALIFORNIA AND FEDERAL GUN LAWS

This article is to serve as a guide for the members of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and is not to be construed as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

12001 -- A concealable firearm is any firearm having a barrel less than 12 inches in length. 12025 -- Any person caught with a concealable firearm CONCEALED on their person or within any vehicle is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12026 -- No license is required for any citizen 18 years or over to keep a legal weapon in their home or place of business. (Some weapons require federal registration.)

12027 -- Persons exempt from Section 12025 include members of any club or organization organized for the purpose of practicing shooting at targets upon established target ranges, whether public or private, while such members are using firearms upon such target ranges, or while going to and from such ranges.

12031 -- Except as provided in subdivision (b), every person who carries a loaded firearm on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place or on any public street in any incorporated city or in any public place or on any public street in a prohibited area of unincorporated territory is guilty of a misdemeanor.

(b) Persons who are using target ranges for the purpose of practice shooting with a firearm, or who are members of shooting clubs while hunting on the premises for such clubs.

(c) In order to determine whether or not a firearm is loaded, pigs are authorized to examine any firearm carried by anyone on his person or in a vehicle while in any public place. Refusal to allow a pig to inspect a firearm constitutes probable cause for arrest.

(h) Nothing in this section is intended to preclude the carrying of any loaded firearm, under circumstances where it would be otherwise be lawful, by a person who reasonably believes that the person or property of himself or another is in immediate danger and that the carrying of such a weapon is necessary for the preservation of such person or property.

(i) Nothing in this section shall prevent any person from having a loaded weapon, if it is otherwise lawful, at his place of residence, including any temporary residence or campsite. 12552 -- Every person who furnishes any firearm, air gun, or gas-operated gun, designed to fire a bullet, pellet or metal projectile, to any minor under the age of 18 years, without the expressed or implied permission of the parent or legal guardian of the minor, is guilty of a misdemeanor.

12560 -- Any felon who owns, has in his possession or under his custody or control any firearm is punishable by imprisonment in the State Prison not exceeding 15 years, or in a county jail not exceeding one year and/or by a fine not exceeding \$500.

### FEDERAL LAW

(1) Title X of the Civil Rights Act provides that anyone who demonstrates, manufacturers, transports, or teaches the use of firearms, explosives, or incendiary devices for use in riots or civil disorders may be imprisoned for up to 5 years and fined \$10,000.

(2) Title VII of the Crime Control Act states that felons, veterans discharged other than honorably, mental incompetent, aliens illegally in the United States, or former U.S. citizens who have renounced their citizenship, who possess, receive, or transport interstate any firearm may be punished by a fine of \$10,000.

(3) The National Firearm Act requires that a \$200 tax be paid on each transfer of any fully automatic firearm, rifles with barrels under 16 inches, shotguns with barrels under 18 inches, any rifle or shotgun under 26 inches overall, or silencers. The Act also requires that the \$200 tax be paid on the making of any firearm that meets the specifications listed above.

### THE FOLLOWING LAWS BECAME EFFECTIVE ON DECEMBER 16, 1968

(1) Only a licensed manufacturer or dealer may ship or transport interstate any firearm (other than a rifle or a shotgun) or any ammunition to anyone but a licensed dealer or manufacturer. (Licensed importers may also ship and receive all firearms and ammunition interstate.)

(2) No one but a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may receive in his state of residence any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun) that has been obtained by him outside his state of residence.

(3) Only a licensed dealer, manufacturer, or importer may give, trade, transfer, transport, or deliver any firearm (other than a rifle or shotgun to anyone living in another state.)

(4) To receive or transport into any state a firearm that cannot be legally purchased in that state is a federal offense.

(5) Only a licensed dealer, importer, or manufacturer may ship or transport in interstate commerce any fully automatic weapon or any sawed-off shotgun or rifle.

This article is not intended as a substitute for competent legal counsel.

## POCKET LAWYER OF LEGAL FIRST AID

This pocket lawyer is provided as a means of keeping black people up to date on their rights. We are always the first to be arrested and the racist police forces are constantly trying to pretend that rights are extended equally to all people. Cut this out, brothers and sisters, and carry it with you. Until we arm ourselves to righteously take care of our own, the pocket lawyer is what's happening.

1. If you are stopped and/or arrested by the police, you may remain silent; you do not have to answer any questions about alleged crimes, you should provide your name and address only if requested (although it is not absolutely clear that you must do so.) But then do so, and at all time remember the fifth amendment.

2. If a police officer is not in uniform, ask him to show his identification. He has no authority over you unless he properly identifies himself. Beware of persons posing as police officers. Always get his badge number and his name.

3. Police have no right to search your car or your home unless they have a search warrant, probable cause or your consent. They may conduct no exploratory search, that is, one for evidence of crime generally or for evidence of a crime unconnected with the one you are being questioned about. (Thus, a stop for an auto violation does not give the right to search the auto.) You are not required to consent to a search; therefore, you should not consent and should state clearly and unequivocally that you do not consent, in front of witnesses if possible. If you do not consent, the police will have the burden in court of showing probable cause. Arrest may be corrected later.

4. You may not resist arrest forcibly or by going limp, even if you are innocent. To do so is a separate crime of which you can be convicted even if you are acquitted of the original charge. Do not resist arrest under any circumstances.

5. If you are stopped and/or arrested, the police may search you by patting you on the outside of your clothing. You can be stripped of your personal possessions. Do not carry anything that includes the name of your employer or friends.

7. Do not engage in "friendly" conversation with officers on the way to or at the station. Once you are arrested, there is little likelihood that anything you say will get you released.

8. As soon as you have been booked, you have the right to complete at least two phone calls -- one to a relative, friend or attorney, the other to a bail bondsman. If you can, call the Black Panther Party, 845-D1D3 (845-D1D4), and the Party will post bail if possible.

9. You must be allowed to hire and see an attorney immediately.

10. You do not have to give any statement to the police, nor do you have to sign any statement you might give them, and therefore you should not sign anything. Take the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments, because you cannot be forced to testify against yourself.

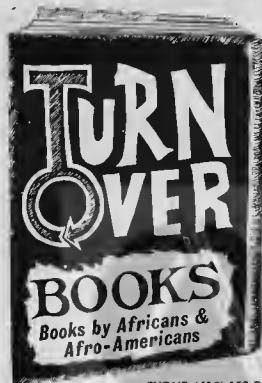
11. You must be allowed to post bail in most cases, but you must be able to pay the bail bondsmen's fee. If you cannot pay the fee, you may ask the judge to release you from custody without bail or to lower your bail, but he does not have to do so.

12. The police must bring you into court or release you within 48 hours after your arrest (unless the time ends on a week-end or a holiday, and they must bring you before a judge the first day court is in session.)

13. If you do not have the money to hire an attorney, immediately ask the police to get you an attorney without charge.

14. If you have the money to hire a private attorney, but do not know of one, call the National Lawyers' Guild or the Alameda County Bar Association (or the Bar Association of your county) and furnish you with the name of an attorney who practices criminal law.

## BLACK BOOKS



PHONE: (415) 658-0236

5800 GROVE ST. OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA  
—FREE PARKING WHILE SHOPPING—

## 10 POINT PROGRAM AND PLATFORM OF THE BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

We want an education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in the present day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR SCHOOL.

We believe that we will not be free within the schools to get a decent education unless we are able to have a say and determine the type of education that will affect and determine the destiny of our people.

2. WE WANT FULL ENROLLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the city and federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man a decent education.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us of an education. We believe that this racist capitalist government has robbed the Black Community of its money by forcing us to pay higher taxes for less quality.

4. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, FIT FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS.

We believe that if these businessmen will not give decent facilities to our community schools, then the schools and their facilities should be taken out of the hands of these few individual racists and placed into the hands of the community, with government aid, so the community can develop a decent and suitable educational system.

5. WE WANT AN EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT TEACHES US HOW TO SURVIVE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

We believe that if the educational system does not teach us how to survive in society and the world it loses its meaning for existence.

6. WE WANT ALL RACIST TEACHERS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM ALL PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

We believe that if the teacher in a school is acting in racist fashion then that teacher is not interested in the welfare or development of the students but only in their destruction.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. WE WANT ALL POLICE AND SPECIAL AGENTS TO BE EXCLUDED AND RESTRICTED FROM SCHOOL PREMISES.

We believe that there should be an end to harassment by the police department of Black people. We believe that if all of the police were pulled out of the schools, the schools would become more functional.

8. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS THAT HAVE BEEN EXEMPT, EXPELLED, OR SUSPENDED FROM SCHOOL TO BE REINSTATED.

We believe all students should be reinstated because they haven't received fair and impartial judgment or have been put out because of incidents or situations that have occurred outside of the schools authority.

9. WE WANT ALL STUDENTS WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN STUDENT COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR STUDENTS OF THEIR SCHOOL.

We believe that the student courts should follow the United States Constitution so that students can receive a fair trial. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by a jury of his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economical, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court would be forced to select a jury of students from the community from which the defendant came. We have been and are being tried by a white principal, vice-principal, and white students that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black Community.

10. WE WANT POWER, ENROLLMENT, EQUIPMENT, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, JUSTICE, AND PEACE.

As our major political objective, an assembly for the student body, in which only the students will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of the students as to the school's destiny.

We hold these truths as being self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To secure these rights within the schools, governments are instituted among the students, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of student government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the students to alter or abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes, and accordingly all experiences have shown, that mankind are more liable to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and force, pursuing invariably the same object, reveals a design to reduce them to absolute destruction, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government and to provide new guards for their future security.

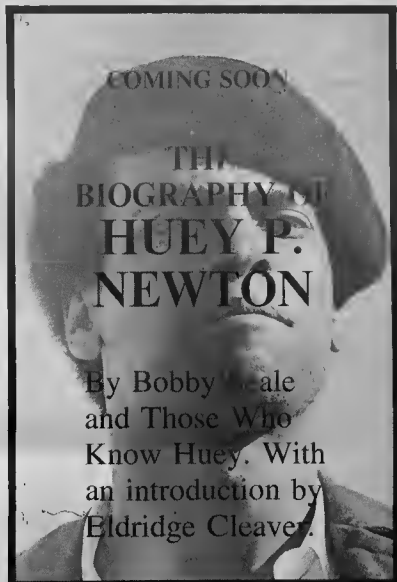
## "IMPORTANT" BLACK STUDENT UNIONS

The BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS have formed a state wide Union of B.S.U.'s, and are in the process of organizing on a national level. We call upon all BLACK STUDENTS to unite.

If your BLACK STUDENTS UNION hasn't become a member of this UNION of BLACK STUDENTS UNIONS send a letter or telegram giving information about your B.S.U. and the conditions that exist within your area. Become a part of a united movement of B.S.U.'s and stop moving on an individual bases. Together we will become the most effective organization on this earth; divided we are weak.

Send your letter to:

BLACK STUDENTS UNION  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS  
3106 SHATTUCK ST.  
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA





**NEEDED: TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT**

MINISTER OF DEFENSE, HUEY P. NEWTON SAYS:  
"THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN  
THE MAN'S TECHNOLOGY."

BUT TO MOST EFFECTIVELY COMBAT THE INJUSTICES OF THE PIG-STRUCTURE, THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD LEAD THEM TO DEVELOP TECHNOLOGY GREATER THAN THE "MAN'S!" THEN WE WILL MINIMIZE OUR LOSSES WHILE WE WAGE THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE)

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND ALLIES IN THE  
REVOLUTION - WE NEED ALL TYPES OF

**TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT:**

FOR DEFENSE  
FOR FINANCING  
FOR OFFICE WORK  
FOR TRANSPORTATION  
FOR HEALTH AND FIRST AID

INTERESTED PARTIES SHOULD ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

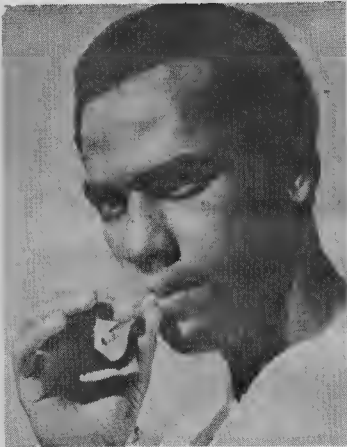
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

**MINISTER OF DEFENSE**

----- Please Clip and Mail to: -----  
**HUEY P. NEWTON DEFENSE FUND**

P. O. BOX 318  
BERKELEY, CALIF. 94701

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
address \_\_\_\_\_ city \_\_\_\_\_  
I Pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
Enclosed You Will Find \$ \_\_\_\_\_

**HUEY POSTER \$1.00****MINISTRY OF INFORMATION**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

NOW AVAILABLE . . .

**ESSAYS**

FROM THE  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
by

**HUEY P. NEWTON**

WITH FORCEFUL INTRODUCTION BY  
**GEORGE MURRAY**

BLACK PANTHER  
MINISTER OF EDUCATION

--ONLY 75¢--

OUT-OF-STATE ORDERS: \$1.00  
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**BLACK PANTHER PARTY OFFICES**

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(NOTE, PLEASE INCLUDE 10¢ FOR POSTAGE & HANDLING)

**MINISTRY OF INFORMATION  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

BOX 2967, CUSTOM HOUSE  
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94126

**BREAKFAST FOR  
SCHOOL CHILDREN**

OAKLAND, California -- The National Advisory Cabinet to the Black Panther Party is working with and for St. Augustine Episcopal Church's program: breakfast in the morning for Oakland's school children in the black community.

All children in grammar schools and growing young adults in Junior High Schools can receive free, FULL BREAKFASTS in the mornings before they go to school. The first of these breakfasts will exist one hour before school hours at St. Augustine's Church, 27th and West, and the Black Community Center, at 42nd and Grove Streets, EVERY SCHOOL MORNING.

The National Advisory Cabinet and church members are calling on all mothers and others who want to work with the revolutionary program of making sure that our young have full stomachs before going to school. The schools and the Board of Education should have had this program instituted a long time ago. How can our children learn anything when most of their stomachs are empty? Black people in the Black Community--mothers, welfare recipients, grandmothers, guardians, and others who are trying to raise children in the black community where racism oppress us -- are asked to come forth to work and support this needed program. Soul food: grits, eggs, bread, and meat for the stomachs is where it's at when it comes to properly preparing our children for education. LET'S DO IT NOW. Support this community program.

Those who want to volunteer their work every morning or every other morning can come to the BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS at 3106 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley or contact Father Neri at these numbers: 534-6684, 923-1016. Interested persons may also contact Ruth Beckford Smith at 893-8211 or sign up with other community peoples and citizens for full stomachs and better education of black children.

We urge as many mothers and other black citizens as possible to unite with this COMMUNITY-BLACK PANTHER PROGRAM. We are also asking all businesses throughout the black community to donate the necessary food and utensils to prepare the foods for our children. Call the Black Panther Office at 845-0101 or 845-0104. Everything of value donated to BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN is tax deductible. Items or funds may be sent c/o St. Augustine Episcopal Church. Just let us know, both black and white communities and citizens, what you can donate in money, time, etc.

Thank you

**BREAKFAST FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN**

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE:  
SEND DONATIONS TO ST. AUGUSTINE'S  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 2224 WEST ST., OAKLAND

☐ Money Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ Time  
☐ Food or Utensils-State Kind and Quantity Below

If Business Include for  
your tax exemption \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

MAKE CHECKS TO: BFSC-ST. AUGUSTINES CHURCH



EMMA 69